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MEMOIRS

OF

SIR EWEN CAMERON OF LOCHEILL.

MEMOIRS

OF

SIR EWEN CAMERON OF LOCHEILL,

CHIEF OF THE CLAN CAMERON.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT

OF THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THAT FAMILY

AND OF

THE NEIGHBOURING CLANS.

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GENERAL INDEX.

PREFACE.

The Editor has to regret that the present Memoirs have not been given to the public, by one more competent to do them justice. But particular circumstances, over which he had no control, having devolved this task upon him, he can only hope that the intrinsic value of the work may form some apology for editorial imperfections.

Although the Memoirs cannot exactly be termed contemporaneous, yet they were compiled so very recently after the date of the transactions recorded, and from such unexceptionable sources as to afford the most satisfactory guarantee for their authenticity. While the general candour and impartiality of the narrative, and the additional light thrown upon the manners and state of society in Scotland during the seventeenth century, must render them an acceptable addition to antiquarian literature.

There is no reason to doubt that the Author was John Drummond, one of the family of Drummond of Balhaldy in Stirlingshire; but whether he was the grandson or great-grand-

son of Sir Ewen Cameron, or whether he was the proprietor of Balhaldy, or only a younger brother, does not seem perfectly certain.

Alexander Drummond of Balhaldy, some time previous to the battle of Killiecrankie, which took place in 1689, married Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill. It appears, from information collected by the late Donald Gregory, Esq., author of the "History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland," that in 1715, Alexander Drummond of Balhaldy, and William his eldest son, assumed, or rather resumed, the name of Macgregor, and were, by a number of individuals of the Clan Gregor, declared hereditary Chiefs of that ancient sept, in order to enable the Clan to receive the pension then paid by Government to every Chief. It would also appear, from the same authority, that William Drummond was employed as a leading Jacobite agent for many years previous to the Rebellion of 1745. He was in Paris during that Rebellion, and in 1757 married Janet, daughter of Lawrence Oliphant of Gask, by whom he had an only son, Alexander, and died about the year 1766. As he must have been, in all probability, born a few years after his father's marriage, about 1688, this account would postpone his own marriage to a very late date, and represent him as actively employed at a very advanced period of life; and renders it not improbable that it might have been a son of his, named John, who has been thus confounded with the father. Several Letters from the Drum-

mond of Balhaldy, who acted as Jacobite agent about 1745, have been taken from the Stuart Papers at Carlton House, and are to be found in the Appendix to Browne's History of the Highlands. He is also often mentioned in the other letters there printed, though never by his Christian name, and he invariably adopts the feigned signature of Malloch.

One of these Letters bears so extraordinary a similarity in style and tone of thought to the present Memoirs, that it is difficult to resist the conviction that they both emanated from the same pen. To enable the reader to judge of this conjecture, the letter will be found in Appendix, No. II.

The Editor has, however, learned from a lady of great age, and connected with the family, that Alexander Drummond of Balhaldy had two sons by Sir Ewen Cameron's daughter, one named William, and the other John, and that John finally entered the Dutch service, in which it is believed he died. He was a Roman Catholic.

The two following Letters, taken from the papers preserved by the Balhaldy family, and addressed to Donald Cameron of Locheill, the well-known Chief of 1745, will better explain the nature and object of the present work, than any observations which the Editor could make. The first of these Letters is without date :—

LETTER TO LOCHEILL.

" I have at last, after great labour, finished the life of your grandfather, Sir Ewen Cameron, and as it contained an uncommon variety of memorable actions, so I make no question but it will be very entertaining to the publick. I have shown it to several, and some of them gentlemen of the best judgment and taste. They all agree, that it not only does great honour to the Highlands in general, but also will make the Camerons renowned to all posterity, for their loyalty, fidelity, and extraordinary courage: That Sir Ewen, their Chief, has all the qualities of a true hero and gallant patriot, and that he shines through the whole in a wonderful uniformity of character, without any mixture of those mean, ungenerous, and self-interested principles that taint the reputation of the most distinguished persons of the times he lived in: They add, that the history of his life is a glorious commentary upon the verses affixed to his picture;* and that as no private gentleman in the kingdom has afforded materials for a particular history, so none but himself has that honour done to his memory—except we take in the great Montrose, who acted as the King's General and Viceroy of the kingdom, and therefore no private person.

* See the Lines as subjoined to an old engraved Portrait of Sir Ewen Cameron, quoted at p. lvi. of this Preface.

" The injury that Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope did in carrying away the first book, and other three MSS., was an action very unbecoming a gentleman. But though I can never make up the loss of my MSS., yet I have fully repaired that of Sir Ewen's life, from the memoirs and vouchers I had by me. It indeed gave me immense trouble; but still I have the satisfaction of doing it to better purpose, and much more correctly than the former, so that the whole is now compiled in the best manner I could do it. I am just now preparing materials for an introductory discourse of the antiquitys of the Camerons, in order to revive the memory of your predecessors, which I expect will be as entertaining as the rest; and, indeed, I have a greater stock of matter than I could well hope for. I remember William M'Pherson showed me a MS. containing materials for a general history of the Highlands, which he told me he had copied for Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell. There were several things in it relating to your family, and those of your neighbours, and I am convinced Sir Duncan will not refuse you the use of it, if you will be pleased to demand that favour. I beg you may be pleased to send a servant express for it. He may perhaps know of others that will be of use, which, I am convinced, he would not grudge the trouble of procuring for you. I have written to Bishop Keith and to M'Farlane to search the records for what they can find relating either to Sir Ewen or his predecessors. I myself

searched those of the Privy Council, where I made very important discoveries, especially with regard to Sir Ewen's disputes with M'Intosh, and to the Earl of Breadalbane's treaty betwixt the late King William and the Clans, whereof I am enabled to give ane exact and authentick account, which does great honour to Sir Ewen in particular, and to the Highlanders in general. I am informed that there are several writs in that Earl's charter-chest, not only relating to that memorable transaction, but also to several other passages of Locheil's life. I know I can be master of these if I please, by the favour of Mr Campbell. I remember to have often heard that your uncle Allan carryd over with him several valuable papers, in order to satisfy his master of his father's services to the Crown. If this was true, 'tis probable that he has delivered them to your father, or, at least, that Allan's Lady can give some account of them. I beg that you may not neglect to write to your father, and make all other possible enquiry after writs that do so much honour to your family.

" I expect to have the whole work ready for the press again harvest next, and I'm advised to dispatch it with all expedition, in case that part of it, which Stanhope carryd away, may fall into the hands of some persons who may print it. Besides that it is incorrect and erroneous in many parts, with respect to facts, it is so far from being finished, that it is little better than a rough draught or scroll, so that both the subject and

author would be affronted by such a publication. I am therefore determined to prevent it by all possible means. You will remember that you and your clan engaged to contribute among yourselves the expenses of publishing it, which will be no great burden to such a number of people. I have been conversing with some printers about it, and they assure me that it will stand above L.100; for the book will consist of above 500 pages in 8vo, whereof the introduction will take up near 100; and I design that it shall be done in a large beautiful type and fine paper. I could easily procure as many subscriptions as will make up the expense. But that method is now thought very dishonourable for you and the family, for it is a kind of begging; and as we shall be obliged to print the names of the subscribers, so it will transmit it to posterity. The late Duke of Gordon, though the meanest and narrowest of mankind, chose rather to be at the charge of publishing the History of his family than lie under such a censure. It is a wretched, dull, confused collection in two vols., at 12s. price; and as there is little in it that relates particularly to the Gordons, so it is nothing but a farrago of poor stuff, collected from public history without judgment, order, or style. I was so weak as to buy it, thinking to find something in it to my purpose; but I was miserably disappointed, but would not have been surprised had I been sooner acquainted with the author. However, if you and your people don't incline to be at the charge

of publishing yours, be so good as to inform me as soon as possible, and I shall set about getting subscriptions, which I will easily procure, or I shall sell the MS. to a printer, who will do it for me, by which I will make up my charges, and have considerable advantage."

"TO THE HONOURABLE DONALD CAMERON OF LOCHEIL, ESQ.

"SIR,—After finishing the Life of Sir Ewen Cameron, your grandfather, of glorious memory, I thought the work would be deficient without some introductory account of his predecessors —because there are several things in it which cannot be well understood, unless the reader is first made acquainted with these antiquitys. Besides, as all the nobility and most of our gentry of any long standing have lately published, at great charges, genealogical accounts of their several families, in the new edition we have of Mr Nisbet's Heraldry,* I thought it a loss that yours should be unknown, since you have as just a claim to the highest antiquity as the oldest of them. These, and some other reasons, have worked upon me to set about the work, and though I mett with great and almost insuperable difficulties in adjusting the chronology, and in fixing true dates to some of the most important actions, which proceeded from a deficiency

* This evidently refers to the Appendix of the second volume of Nisbet's Heraldry, published in the year 1742; but it is believed copies were privately circulated previously.

of records and vouchers, yet I have att last brought it to such a conclusion as I hope will satisfy the unbyassed part of mankind, as well of the antiquity of your family, as of the bravery and loyalty of your predecessors.

"But, as this will necessarily take up some time before it can be published, I presumed, that a superficial prospect of these matters would not onely be in the meantime agreeable, but also give some idea of the discovereys I have made of the lives and characters of these brave gentlemen that preceded you. To have a passionate love for one's country is the character of a generous spirit. 'Tis a quality peculiar to patriots and heroes. But to love our predecessors and parents is in effect to love ourselves. We are the heirs as well of their blood as of their familys and estates, and have a just title to whatever was theirs. Thence arises the extream pleasure we have in hearing of any thing that was worthily done by them. Our predecessors' actions reflect honour upon ourselves if we have merit enough to relish them. And as they quicken and impregnate these seeds of virtue which we derive from their blood, so they powerfully invite us to imitate them. For example makes allways the strongest impression when we have it from persons whom we honour and love. In this short view you have the succession of your ancestours in a genealogical line from the reign of the great Robert the Bruce, though the antiquity of the family is of a much higher date. Here you will have the pleasure to

find, that the most polite and ingenious poet whom I have quoted on the title-page understood nature well, and that he spoke truth in affirming, that the qualities of the sire descended to the issue. Thus, the same merit that gave your predecessour, Angus, a title to match with the blood royall, broke out with equal lustre in his son, Gillespick, and advanced him to the dignity of Peer, among the very first that received the honourable distinction from the Crown. The next of that succession that is mentioned in antient records we find acting the glorious part of a true patriot as well in the camp as in the cabinet. Nor did the spirit of heroic valour degenerate in their posterity, though the circumstances of the times sometimes putt it out of their power to exert it in so glorious a manner. You will find them often supporting, but never in rebellion against the State, and I believe their enemys will be hard put to it to discover one coward or poltroon in the whole race.

" But all this will appear much better from the Introduction to Sir Ewen's Life, where you will meet with a fuller account of their actions, which I have only glanced att in the abstract. However, in order to rectify a common mistake that prevails in the Highlands of Ewen M'Allan's destroying the charters of the family, I have enlarged somewhat on the actions of that prudent and brave gentleman, but more especially with respect to the many estates and charters he acquired by the favour of three succeeding kings, and his interest with the great Lord of

the Isles. I have likeways shown by what unlucky steps the famous Allan M'Coilduy came to lose these extensive acquisitions, and how the remainder that is still in the possession of the family was recovered, which induced me to touch upon severall actions that I should have otherways omitted. In a word, as I have led you to expect a more copious detail of all these particulars in the foresaid Introduction, which I have illustrated with all such relative actions as have any connection or dependence upon these matters, so my intention in this is to give you such a survey of your brave predecessours, as will be proper to insert in the register wherein the inventory of the writes of the family is contained ; so as the one may be a commentary on the other. To conclude, my aim in all these writings being to revive the honour and advance the interest of yourself, family, and posterity, I presume to offer you this as a prologue to the rest, and beg that you may accept of it with the same goodness wherewith you used to favour,

" Dear Sir,

" Your most obedient Servant

" Balhadys, and affectionate Cousin,

" 7th March 1737. Jo. Drummond."

The intention of the Author to publish this Work was never carried into effect, probably the intrigues connected with the projected Rebellion, in which all the parties were so deeply im-

plicated, turned their attention from it at the time—and its unfortunate issue caused it to be neglected. Several manuscript copies were, however, made, and some years ago, the present proprietors of Balhaldy, upon an application from the Locheill family, gave access to their copy, and some loose MSS., from which the above quoted Letters and another fragment were transcribed.

The idea of printing the MS. was first suggested from a copy belonging to William Crawfurd, Esq. of Cartsburn, but that being imperfect, as wanting the Introduction and First Book, applications were respectively made to Sir Duncan Cameron of Fassfern, Bart., Mr Cameron of Locheill, and the family of Balhaldy, for the MSS. understood to be in their possession. Sir Duncan Cameron and Locheill have, in the most handsome and obliging manner, given the use of their MSS., and all other papers in their possession, but the Editor regrets that he has not also obtained a similar favour from the Balhaldy family. A transcript of their MS. was, however, some years ago, made for Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq., access to which he has kindly allowed the Editor; who has also to thank William F. Skene, Esq., for the use of another copy in his possession. All these contain the missing part of the Cartsburn MS.

The Editor is inclined to think that the original and most

authentic MS. is that belonging to Mr Crawfurd of Cartsburn, as it contains several passages not to be found in any of the others; and the circumstance of its wanting the commencement would seem to indicate, that it is actually the copy of which the first book was carried off by Sir Alexander Murray.

It is bound in two volumes; the first contains the second book of the Memoirs, and the second volume the third, written upon small quarto sheets, in a small, distinct, current hand. On the fly-leaf of the first volume is written, apparently in the same hand as the text, "August 7th, 1733, Jo. Drummond;" on the fly-leaf of the second volume, the signature "Jo. Drummond" is written in pencil; excepting towards the end of the second volume, only one side of the sheet is written upon, and there are occasional blottings and interlineations.

Sir Duncan Cameron's MS. has never been bound, and is written on both sides, of the same kind of paper as the Cartsburn MS., and the first few pages, with occasional corrections throughout, are in the same hand; the rest in a bold modern bussines hand, though with many old-fashioned contractions and forms of letters; one passage is deleted, a few sentences are omitted, and wherever the words used are different, the reading of the Cartsburn MS. is almost invariably the best.

The Editor is inclined to think that Sir Duncan Cameron's is the copy designed for press, but that it never received the

final comparison, or revision, of the Author, as, in all probability, he intended to delay that till the work was completed, which, unfortunately, appears never to have been done.

Mr Sharpe's copy of the Balhaldy MS. and Mr Skene's coincide in all respects. The latter is evidently a transcript, and the Locheill MS. an abridgment of Sir Duncan Cameron's copy.

There is, however, in the possession of the Locheill family, a copy of part of the Introduction, which, although very imperfect, is yet in some passages fuller than any of the others; but as there is no discrepancy in the sense of the different readings, nor any material addition, the Editor has generally adopted the most ample readings, unless where they appeared redundant.

It might not be altogether uninteresting to ascertain how the apparently original MS. got into the possession of the family of Cartsburn; but on this head nothing but conjecture can be given. George Crawfurd, the well-known author of the Peerage of Scotland and History of Renfrewshire, who died in 1748, was a younger son of that family, and uncle to Archibald Crawfurd of Cartsburn, who died in 1781. Many of George Crawfurd's books and papers are still in the possession of the family; and it seems probable, that this MS. may have been entrusted to him for the purpose of historical research, or it may have been deposited with him for safety during the troubles

of 1745. What lends some colour to this last suggestion is the circumstance of there having been some intermarriages between the Crawfurds of Cartsburn and some North Country families, which may have given rise to some intercourse with the neighbouring proprietors. Thomas Crawfurd of Cartsburn, son of the above-mentioned Archibald, died in 1791. He was a person of superior literary attainments, and collected a considerable library, which was afterwards removed to Ratho, the residence of the then proprietrix, the late Mrs Crawfurd, and from thence, after her death, to Edinburgh. In 1820, when Mr Crawfurd made a catalogue of his library, only the present volumes could be discovered.

It is much to be regretted that the Work has been left unfinished, and that the Editor has been unable to obtain access to the documents so often referred to in the text, as forming the Appendix.

The Notes and Illustrations at the foot of the page form part of the original MS., excepting where marked as by the Editor. The Notes at the end of the volume and the Appendix have been entirely compiled by him.

The spelling is certainly of the most barbarous and uncouth description, but, contrary to the opinion of many, the Editor conceives that it ought to be preserved as marking the progress of orthography, although he has great reason to fear that he has,

upon some occasions, adhered too closely to the original, and copied mere clerical errors; but in a matter of this kind it is nearly impossible to form an accurate judgment. The contractions, however, have been disregarded.

The running margin contained in the MS. has been printed as a TABLE OF CONTENTS; but as it is very incomplete, it has been necessary to supply a great portion, which is distinguished by brackets. A few words have also been occasionally supplied in brackets in the text, where the meaning is obviously defective; but with these exceptions, the text has been closely adhered to; one or two words and sentences, which are deleted in the MS. but still legible, are likewise printed within brackets.

The style is in general wonderfully correct, and although very minute, yet it seems more from a copiousness of ideas than redundancy of words. A number of Scotticisms occurs; in particular, the word "again" is almost exclusively used in place of "against;" although this is quite a recognised expression in Scotland, yet it is so apt to confuse the English reader, that the Editor has generally added the two last letters. The spelling of the word "Locheill" may be considered erroneous, as it is usually spelt "Lochiel;" but the former mode is uniformly adopted in Sir Duncan Cameron's and the Cartsburn MSS., and has therefore been adhered to.

In regard to the authority due to the statements in the earlier

part of the Introduction, it may safely be asserted that the Author has carefully studied and accurately quoted the best authorities accessible in his time; indeed, his account of public transactions coincides so well with the latest and best informed historians, as to prove him superior in candour and research to most of our national writers of his day.

It will be observed that the Chiefs, whose lives are given, do not correspond exactly either with the account of the Camerons in Douglas' Baronage or with the list printed on p. 6. This list was taken from the imperfect MS. belonging to the Locheill family already mentioned, and ought perhaps to have appeared as a note. The Editor regrets his inability to reconcile these discrepancies, but must confess that he does not deem them of any essential importance. He has been informed by one of the highest authorities on these subjects, that the earlier generations contained in Douglas' Baronage, when not fabulous, were not of the Locheill family, but belonged to the family of Camerons of Balligarnoch in Perthshire, and that the founder of the Locheill branch was Donald Dhu-MacAllan, the sixth Chief according to the Memoirs.

It ought, however, to be observed, that although the Author evidently labours under the impression that the first were of the Locheill branch, yet he merely asserts that they were the principal men of the name of Cameron of whom he could find any mention in history.

In giving to the public the fullest and most circumstantial account of a Highland Chieftain of the olden time which has yet appeared, the Editor has ventured to prefix an Introduction, containing some general remarks regarding the manners and state of society in Scotland during the period over which the work extends;—a short sketch of its principal features has also been added, and an attempt made to supply the deficiency of the narrative.

The Frontispiece, being an engraving from the only original portrait of Sir Ewen now extant, was executed by the directions of Mr Cameron of Locheill, and presented by him to the gentlemen who have printed this volume. For this valuable illustration, they have to tender their best thanks to the donor.

A print taken from the same picture appeared about 1688. Below that engraving are to be found the following lines, alluded to by the Author in the first Letter above quoted:—

THE HONEST MAN WHOM VIRTUE SWAYS,
HIS KING ADORES, HIS GOD OBEYS;
DOES FACTIOUS MEN'S REBELLIOUS PRIDE,
AND THREATENING TYRANTS' RAGE, DERIDE;
HONOUR'S HIS WEALTH, HIS RULE, HIS AIM,
UNSHAKEN, FIXED, AND STILL THE SAME.

The old impressions of this engraving are now very scarce; but the present is a much more accurate copy of the original.

The copious General Index has been compiled by Robert Pitcairn, Esq., with his usual accuracy and distinctness. Those who may wish to employ this Work as a book of reference, will best know how to appreciate so valuable an addition.

In conclusion, the Editor begs to return his best thanks to his various friends, who have so kindly and obligingly furnished him with materials and advice, of which he can only regret his having been able to make so imperfect a use. And he embraces this opportunity of acknowledging Sir Duncan Cameron's great kindness in allowing his MS. to be used for the press.

JAMES MACKNIGHT.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION.

The singular manner in which the feudal and patriarchal systems were for long blended in Scotland, is one of the many circumstances which have combined to throw so much varied and romantic interest around its dark and chequered history. The nature of the feudal system has been so fully and ably illustrated by Guizot, Hallam, and other modern writers, that it would be out of place here to make any observations upon it. Unfit as it was for a permanent and perfect form of Government, it must yet be acknowledged to have been admirably adapted for accomplishing the regeneration of society, after the destruction of ancient civilization.

The patriarchal system, which in Europe was almost exclusively confined to Scotland, has attracted comparatively little attention ; and the effects of the superinduction of the one system on the other has been left almost wholly unnoticed ; although it certainly opens a field of both curious and interesting inquiry to the student of ancient manners. No formal investigation of this subject can here be attempted ; but the following desultory remarks may possibly render much of the present volume more intelligible to the general reader.

It would certainly appear, that at a very remote period the patriarchal system alone existed in Scotland, and that the feudal was afterwards gradually introduced,—and this introduction took place at a much earlier period in the Lowlands than in the Highlands. Some writers, indeed, are of opinion, that the patriarchal system either never existed in the

Lowlands, or was very soon abolished; but a minute examination of Scotish History proves this to be a mistake; although, in the more civilized parts of the country, the feudal system acquired a decided preponderance over the patriarchal, while the patriarchal predominated in the wilder and more remote.

One of the most important modifications which the patriarchal system exercised upon the feudal, is to be found in the intercourse which took place between the different ranks of society, and the feelings with which the superior and vassal mutually regarded each other.

Guizot, in his Lectures on the Progress of Civilization in Europe, correctly remarks, that one of the strongest feelings engendered in the minds of the lower orders by the purely feudal system, was that of dread and detestation of the aristocracy, and that the earliest opportunities were eagerly seized upon to throw off the hated yoke. In Scotland, on the contrary, a very different state of society has scarcely yet eradicated from the breasts of the peasantry the feelings of respect and attachment with which, in the olden time, they regarded the proprietors of the soil.

The following curious passage from Bishop Lesley's History* will show, that at a very early period this difference between the lower orders of the Continental States and Great Britain was observed:—

'And although theis duikis in Fraunce had farre greitter rents than the 'duikis and erles in England and Scotland commownly haif, yet haithe 'thaire been boithe duikis and erles in athare of theis realmes, able to 'bring als mony men of war into the fielde, as any of the Frenche 'duikis, before remembred. *For sick ernist guid willes, and lovinge 'myndes*, do the people of Scotland and Ingland beare towards the greit 'peris of the realmes, that it hathe been seen and knowen, that a xxx. 'or xl. thousand men haife bene ready to serve thame at thair awne 'costis and chargis, gladlie following whether soever thaie war appointit 'to go; a greit mony of quhilk nombre, peradventure, never sawe the 'said nobill men in all thaire life time before, *but onlie moved with ane in-'ward affection, groundit and rulit upon custome of their auncesters*.'

* Lesley, p. 26.

The Bishop here extends his observation to England, where, under many modifications, a somewhat similar state of society existed, particularly anterior to the reign of Henry VII.

Sir Anthony Weldon,* in speaking of the Scotish Nobility of James VI.'s time, says, that '*their followers are their fellows*, their wives ' their slaves, their horses their masters, and their swords their judges.' It is singular, that this acute and satirical author should have recorded, as a matter of reproach, one of the few redeeming features in the social system of Scotland, as then constituted.

Relationship being the foundation of the patriarchal rule, the obedience of the vassal was consequently deprived of all feeling of personal degradation, and a reciprocal kindliness imparted to the feelings of the superior. All parties were likewise united in considering the advancement of the power and prosperity of their Clan as the greatest object of their ambition, to which, indeed, the welfare of the country at large was usually reckoned subordinate.

However erroneous these views may be, they were then, it ought to be recollected, conscientiously believed and acted upon; and it may be questioned, if mankind have yet arrived at that point of enlightenment which entitles them to regard such sentiments with unqualified disapprobation.

The "Carthago est delenda" of the great Roman patriot showed him as ignorant of the true interests of mankind as the savage Clansmen, who "dewyssit to ruitt out this hous of Bargany out off memory;"† yet the former is as universally applauded as the latter is condemned.

Independent of feudal or patriarchal government, there was another feature in Scotish society which tended greatly to modify the harshness of the aristocracy towards the lower orders. In conducting their deadly feuds, every advantage, both of secret stratagem and open warfare, was deemed allowable, and few Clans were of sufficient numerical force to prevent the life and safety of the Chief from being occasionally in the power of the meanest of his followers, whose hand might open the wicket,

* Satire against Scotland, Abbotsford Mis. Vol. I. p. 300. † Historie of the Kennedies, p. 22.

or whose voice might give the signal, which would, at an unguarded moment, expose the Chieftain to the vengeance of his enemies. And the most numerous tribes were subdivided into many subordinate septs, who considered the case of each individual of their subdivision as their own ; and injustice done to any one incurred the resentment of the whole.

Owing to these causes, the Clansmen, of all grades, seem to have lived upon a happy and contented footing, as far as regards their social relations ; and it is not a little remarkable, that rich as Scotish tradition is in every dark and fearful species of crime and violence, but few anecdotes of feudal oppression are preserved. Punishments were, indeed, severe, according to the rude notions of justice then prevalent, but they were supported by public opinion ; nay, it may be argued, from the remorse which a savage and profligate baron displayed for executing a criminal found guilty of horse-stealing,* that more enlightened ideas of criminal jurisprudence were then to be found in Scotland than prevailed in England for centuries after.

But, while the patriarchal system thus softened the rigour of the feudal in one respect, it aggravated it greatly in another.

Extensive landed proprietors seem everywhere to have been impatient of the yoke of great feudal noblemen, and to have been ambitious of becoming direct holders from the Crown. But this feeling was increased an hundred-fold in intensity when the landed proprietor was also natural governor of the inhabitants of the soil, in right of a long line of ancestors, who had for centuries ruled them in peace, and commanded them in war. When such an individual found himself, by a process of legal chicanery, subjected to the command of an alien in blood, and deprived of his rights of jurisdiction over his people, his indignation knew no bounds ; and to rid himself at all hazards from the hateful yoke became the aim of his existence, and in this he was cordially seconded by his Clansmen. It may safely be said, that more blood was shed for centuries in the Highlands from this cause than from any other, and it was

* *Vide* Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, Vol. I. P. I. p. 513.

also productive of several other important effects, which will afterwards be adverted to.

The great Lords of the Isles were the first who seem to have aspired to this species of power; and many of the tribes in the Islands and Mainland, noways connected with them in blood, were forced, or induced, to accept of charters from them in the feudal form; and these deeds were frequently the earliest titles of the estates, simple possession having previously been the only right of the occupants. But the events subsequent to the battle of Harlaw proved how little the uncertian allegiance of these feudatories was to be depended upon; as, after that check, so many tribes revolted, or deserted to the Crown, that the power of the Island-Princes was gradually but completely extinguished.

However, the houses of Huntly and Argyle rose upon their ruins, and acquired a similar and equally hateful preponderance in the North and West Highlands; and, at a later period, the families of Atholl and Breadalbane attained the same species of influence, though to a much more limited extent.

The great power of the families of Sutherland and Mackay, in the extreme North, seems to have been of a more purely patriarchal description.

Whatever may have been the defects of such a system of society, it certainly did not repress individual energy of character; on the contrary, the life of every man seems to have been one of continued and unabated exertion. The aim of the Chief was to augment his territorial influence, or to shake himself free from his feudal superior; the heads of subordinate tribes, or powerful cadets, were continually endeavouring to establish themselves as separate Clans; while the lower orders and smaller proprietors were ambitious of becoming dependants directly upon the Chief, in place of intermediate superiors.

In this complicated and desperate struggle, it may easily be conceived that qualities very different from what is usually supposed were requisite to form a Chieftain of the olden time. In place of being a reckless, vain, and hot-headed braggadocio, he was dark, cautious, and politic in deliberation, prompt and determined in execution. Cool, clear-headed, and

sagacious, no advantage was ever overlooked; and when the moment for action arrived, his policy was frequently found to be allied to treachery, his courage to ferocity, and his vengeance to cruelty. The manner in which he was educated and trained rendered him intimately acquainted with the habits and dispositions of all grades of his countrymen; and he could scarcely fail to attain considerable insight into human character in general; thus acquiring those easy and agreeable manners so well fitted to secure popularity. Usually he was far too much habituated to the exercise of power to care much about its externals, excepting in so far as they were necessary to impress his Clansmen with proper respect for his dignity.

The devotion with which a Chief was regarded by his Clansmen is well known, and several new and striking illustrations of this will be found in the present Memoirs. But this devotion was purchased by a degree of attention to the wants and feelings of the Clan of which no idea has hitherto been formed. Indeed, unless the Chief carried the public opinion of his followers along with him, and succeeded in convincing them that his views were in accordance with their interests, he had but little chance of securing their obedience; while the same people, who would have died rather than betray or desert the man who ruled them justly in peace, and commanded them ably in war, would have murdered or deposed him had he neglected their interests, absented himself from the country, and dissipated his revenues in the amusements of the capital.

The romantic and chivalrous loyalty which shed such a brilliant gleam over the last days of feudalism in Scotland, formed no characteristic of the Chief of the olden time. Living at a distance from the seat of government, with imperfect means of communication, and immersed in struggles with his neighbours for power and existence, the regal authority was little known, and less respected; and the slightest pretexts for rebellion were unhesitatingly adopted. It must, however, be acknowledged, that in those rude times rebellion was viewed in much the same light as a strenuous opposition in Parliament to a government measure would now be, and that the redress of some specific grievance, and not

alteration in the form of government or limitation of the prerogative, was intended by such rebellion.

Indeed, when it is borne in mind that the extirpation of the Highland race was seriously contemplated, even in the reign of James the Sixth, their want of ardent loyalty is far from surprising.

The law of Scotland was long in a most anomalous state, and exercised a most important influence on the social system. So excellent in theory, and so complete and well-matured in form, as almost to countenance the supposition of its having been the remnant of a previous and higher state of civilization, it was so partially and wretchedly administered, that it rapidly degenerated into a powerful and well-constructed engine of oppression in the hands of the dominant faction, and became subservient to every species of political intrigue, and every scheme of private cupidity and aggrandisement.

When these facts are borne in mind, it will perhaps be conceded, that the dislike which the Highlanders felt for the law, was as much to be attributed to the palpable injustice and partiality of its administration, as to their own turbulent and ungovernable spirit.

Indeed, as will afterwards be more fully explained, the first dawn of loyalty in the Highlands may be ascribed to the idea so sedulously and ingeniously inculcated by James VI., that the equity and mercy inherent in the royal prerogative formed the most effectual protection from the harshness and injustice of the law.

It may not be out of place here to make a few observations upon the Military Tactics of the ancient Highlands.

While war, or the desire of destroying the lives of others, has been so universally prevalent among savage nations, that some philosophers have defined it as the natural state of man, cowardice, or the instinct of self-preservation, has been as universally co-existent as an antagonist principle, without which, indeed, the human race could scarcely have been prevented from becoming extinct. The effect of these two conflicting principles has been to render the great problem in military science in all ages—how, with the least possible loss, to inflict the great-

est possible amount of destruction on the opposing force. The ancients, and the chivalry of the middle ages, endeavoured to effect this by the use of defensive armour; and the fact of its being reckoned a much greater disgrace for a Roman soldier to lose his shield than his sword, is a proof how strongly this maxim was inculcated by the conquerors of the ancient world. The stealthy American savage adopted the same principle, by fighting under the shelter of his impenetrable forests.

The Celtic nations, too poor or ignorant to adopt defensive armour to any extent, (which was, besides, almost unsuitable for mountain warfare,) employed a different system, and seem to have laid down the rule, that where resistance was hopeless flight was not disgraceful—a rule, in many respects, the most rational and scientific—yet subject to this great disadvantage, that in their imperfectly organized armies the common soldiers were extremely apt, during any temporary reverse, to imagine that all chances of success were gone, and abandon the field, in spite of their officers, even in the moment of victory. To this is to be attributed the numerous panics with which Celtic armies were seized, and which contrast so strangely with their ferocity and determination upon other occasions.

In addition to the habits peculiar to their Celtic origin, the subdivision of the Highlanders into different and often hostile tribes, tended materially to increase this feeling; for, even when they laid aside their animosities, and combined to resist a common enemy, still no Clan would submit to be sacrificed to save the rest, as such a loss of men would have rendered the survivors unable to maintain the power of their name; while, at the same time, the rivalry between the names tended, whenever success was deemed practicable, to raise their courage to the highest pitch.

Whenever, therefore, the Highlanders met their adversaries upon equal terms, they generally fought with an obstinacy and determination which is sometimes scarcely credible, and has certainly never been exceeded; while the same men, if surprised or taken at a disadvantage, seldom dreamt of resistance.

The Highlanders never attained the precision of discipline and organization of regular armies, and rank and file was quite unknown.

They were, however, generally arranged in divisions, corresponding to the different Clans; and each Clan was subdivided into the various septs or families of which it was composed, and commanded by their respective heads. By this means, a sufficient number of officers and proper subordination of rank was introduced,—a most essential element in the art of war. By dint of practice, considerable steadiness and rapidity of movement was generally attained; latterly, however, almost the only training received was at the great hunting-matches so often mentioned in history.

The Highland arms are too well known to require particular description; they consisted of the bow, (ultimately laid aside for the musket,) axe, broadsword, dirk, and target, to which a pistol was sometimes added.

The Highland bow has commonly been reckoned smaller and weaker than the English; as it was, however, occasionally used as a bludgeon, it could not have been a very insignificant weapon; but it was only like the musket, an auxiliary arm; close combat being always resorted to when practicable.

It may also be remarked, that although two-handed swords were occasionally employed by warriors of uncommon strength and stature, yet the general form of the claymore was that of a single-handed, strait, cut-and-thrust sword, rather long, and thin and flexible in the blade; and intended to be used in conjunction with the dagger and target. The dirk, or dagger, was the weapon always employed by the Highlanders upon sudden emergencies; it was constructed upon different principles from the sword, being thick in the blade, and only one-edged, in order to give it greater strength and power in thrusting. They were most deadly weapons in experienced hands, and from their form and temper, seem to have acquired continental celebrity.

In the olden time, the sword and dagger were rarely out of the hands of the Highlanders; deer, and probably cattle, were slaughtered by them, and they were carefully trained to wield them in the most effectual manner. From a passage in the present Memoirs, it appears that a motion, similar to the drawing cut of the Asiatic Nations, was practised in the

Highlands. In later times, it is believed, that regular training to the use of arms was chiefly confined to the Duniwassals.

The assumption of the reins of Government by James VI. ultimately produced a most important alteration on the state of the Highlands. It is not too much to say, that the singular and inconsistent character of that monarch has yet to be written.

It would be out of place here to attempt to supply this deficiency; but it may safely be asserted, that his administration in Scotland affords proofs of talent and determination, which have been as much overlooked by historians, as his good nature and merciful disposition has been overrated.

With a feeble executive, an empty exchequer, and a hostile clergy, he undertook to break the power of a savage, ferocious, and unprincipled aristocracy, in possession of the whole military force of the kingdom; and bestow the blessings of peace and civilization upon a rude, illiterate, and fanatic people. The extent to which he accomplished his objects is perfectly astonishing, if the inadequacy of his means be taken into account. But it certainly was the result of a profound unscrupulous and systematic course of policy.

Presuming that all the aristocracy were equally turbulent and ungovernable, he seems only to have waited for an opportunity to get them in his power; and when within his talons, they were treated with precisely the degree of severity which he felt himself able to inflict without giving too great offence to their allies and dependants.

He used every inducement to procure their attendance at Court; thus encouraging that taste for extravagant expenditure, which, sooner or later, he knew must ruin their territorial influence, by bartering, as Adam Smith remarks, the solid power which they possessed over the hearts and hands of their retainers, for scraps of lace and bits of ribbon; and by this means, also, he rendered himself master of their persons.

But he took care to bait his hook of Court favour for his grasping and avaricious prey, with much more solid allurements than the usual glitter

and tinsel of a Court. Fines and forfeitures inflicted on delinquents were scattered among his rapacious favourites, with the most lavish and apparently heedless profusion. But these fines and forfeitures were far more rigidly exacted than had they remained in the hands of the Crown; as the donatory took possession himself, or bribed some powerful ally to do so.

In the event of any dispute arising between two parties, the one who represented his case at Court, however absurd or unfounded his claim might be, was almost certain of a favourable decision; if both parties appeared, a reference to the King was usually made, and great talent and ingenuity displayed in reconciling their differences, and modifying the strictness of law, by principles of mercy or equity.

By means of these measures, which have been unthinkingly blamed by historians as the capricious acts of weakness and favouritism, many important objects were gained; all the aristocracy were induced to value and seek Court favour; the turbulent and disaffected were impoverished and embarrassed; and what was, perhaps, ultimately of most consequence, the strength of the executive materially increased, by rendering a sentence of outlawry exceedingly formidable.

Previously, such a sentence was regarded by a great baron as a mere farce; but, gradually, the most powerful became unable to bear up against the indirect inconveniences thus entailed upon them. A feudal Chief, indeed, surrounded by his inaccessible fastnesses and the claymores of his faithful Clan, could defy the feeble attempts of the Government to seize his person, or attach his goods; nay, even were he considered formidable in arms, letters of fire and sword, although issued against him, might never be put in execution. But he found all access to the royal ear denied, all his actions misrepresented, the smallest ebullitions of violence magnified into the grossest acts of rebellion; his neighbours permitted to plunder his territories without incurring any legal penalty; and his lands liable to be gifted away to any nobleman sufficiently powerful to take possession.

To attempt to present himself at Court was out of the question; did he leave his territories with a small retinue, he would have been imme-

diately seized by the first aspirant for Court favour, through whose lands he passed. While, had he attempted to do so with a large, he would only have increased the number of his captors, as all the neighbouring barons would have eagerly united in that object, however they might have quarrelled as to the division of the spoil.

The letters of fire and sword, granted to subjects against outlaws and delinquents, have been frequently blamed; but they were seldom executed with much rigour, and seem usually to have been kept "in terrorem," or employed as a pretext for extorting money, and an acknowledgment of vassalage; thus humbling and impoverishing one of the parties, while it rather served as a check upon the other, as the slightest attempt at rebellion on the part of the superior would have been the signal for the revolt of the unwilling vassal.

Such delinquents as were too weak to offer resistance were dealt with with very little regard either to mercy or justice. The treatment of the celebrated Mure of Auchindrane is a striking instance of this. That remarkable man (whose moral character was quite upon a par with most of his contemporaries in the district where he lived) was prosecuted with the most unrelenting and illegal severity, for being *suspected of advising a murder, the actual perpetrators of which were permitted to go unpunished.* Seeing the measure of justice about to be meted to him, he endeavoured to procure his safety by shedding additional blood; and at length fell a victim to the vengeance of the law. The whole secret of these extraordinary proceedings appears to have been, that James saw that the district would never be at peace, so long as a man of his talents, ambition, and turbulent spirit, was alive; while he had no friends or kinsmen sufficiently powerful to avenge his death.

His execution of the unfortunate messenger for exposing the pictures of himself and his Queen for sale in a contumelious position, shows how little he was inclined to mercy; yet, such was the veneration with which he had contrived to imbue his subjects for his prerogative and person, that this atrocious piece of cruelty seems to have had the sanction of public opinion.

He thus broke the power and diminished the resources of a consider-

able portion of the aristocracy; deadly feuds were almost entirely abandoned; arts and commerce began to flourish in the Lowlands, and, even in the Highlands, a taste for the blessings of peace and the comforts of civilized life had commenced. But the rashness and bigotry of his unfortunate son blighted all these cheering prospects, and again immersed the country in barbarity and bloodshed.

The conduct of the son has been most erroneously ascribed to the advice of the father. The limited, though perhaps acute mind of Charles, could only comprehend the letter, not the spirit, of his father's counsels, and James can no more be blamed for the faults of his son, than the writings of the sages of antiquity for the eccentricities of the pedantic simpletons who are occasionally to be found in the classic halls of Oxford or Cambridge.

It may, indeed, be further asserted, that of all the monarchs who ever sat on the British throne, James was the least likely to have been guilty of his son's errors, for none ever calculated more accurately the amount of his resources, and the extent of resistance with which he would be met.

By a most able and Machiavellian course of policy, James established a moderate Episcopacy in Scotland. Had this been left to itself, it would, in all probability, have remained the established religion of the country to this day; but the fanatic tyranny of the son ruined the schemes of the father.

Without going into the details of these well-known and melancholy transactions, and without attempting to defend the dark and unprincipled conduct of their leaders, it may safely be asserted with regard to the people, that a more touching spectacle of a nation unwillingly forced into rebellion in defence of what they believed to be their dearest rights, can hardly be conceived. The zeal and unanimity with which the people actually coerced their Chiefs to support the royal authority, whenever they perceived that the person and prerogative of the monarch was aimed at by the English, is a clear proof of this, and ought surely to entitle them to some mercy from the pens of those historians who have so severely and successfully exposed the conduct of the prime movers in the rebellion.

The subject of the following Memoirs, whom it will be most convenient to designate as Locheill, although he was not at first entitled to that name, was born in the year 1629, in the middle of these troubled and exciting times. At the period of his birth, the Clan Cameron was commanded by his grandfather, Allan M'Connell Duibh, or Allan M'Ilduy, as he was commonly called, a Chief of the greatest valour and determination, and of such remarkable abilities and sagacity, that he is alleged to have been possessed of supernatural powers. From a variety of causes, over few of which he had much control, he became deeply implicated in the numerous feuds and rebellions which took place in Queen Mary's, and the commencement of James the Sixth's reign, and for many years the blood of civil discord was but rarely dry upon his claymore.

The Clan Cameron was an ancient, numerous, warlike, and firmly united tribe, chiefly inhabiting Lochaber, which lies between the territories of the great houses of Huntly and Argyle. Thus situated, its Chief could scarcely avoid taking a part in the differences which then existed between these two powerful families.

When these differences came to an open rupture, and Argyle, armed with the royal authority, prepared to march against Huntly, Allan M'Ilduy's personal inclinations would rather have prompted him to have joined Argyle, as there had been an ancient, though far from unbroken, friendship between their houses, but his bitter and hereditary enemy, the Laird of Macintosh, having sided with that nobleman, Allan united himself with Huntly, and was present at the celebrated battle of Glenlivat; where, however, he is alleged to have done nothing more than defeat the corps commanded by Macintosh. Having been outlawed and forfeited along with Huntly for his share in the Rebellion, that nobleman, with a degree of treachery and ingratitude which would be almost incredible were it not well authenticated, upon obtaining his own pardon and reversal of his forfeiture, was instrumental in keeping up the sentences against Allan, and actually claimed and obtained a part of his estate. While these rigorous sentences were in force, some local disturbances arose in Lochaber, which were made a pretext for getting them

executed with the utmost rigour, and in a short time he found himself stripped of every acre of ground which had formerly belonged to him.

Against these varied and complicated misfortunes, the Chieftain struggled with all the savage energy and perseverance so characteristic of the age.

He at once abandoned his distant and detached lands not inhabited by his clansmen, and by his ready obedience purchased the goodwill and assistance of those to whom he surrendered them. Huntly, as a singular atonement for his ungrateful conduct, accepted a commission of fire and sword against him, which, as he did not execute, prevented this fearful weapon of legal oppression from falling into hostile hands. And Macintosh, with one of those traits of high-minded generosity which occasionally illumine that dismal period, refused to press his claims against him in the midst of his misfortunes.

Thus, by opposing force to force, and artifice to artifice, he at length contrived to secure the possession of those domains which still remain in the family, although he was reluctantly obliged to descend from his station of a crown-holder, and become a vassal of the Marquis of Argyle, who, having purchased the gift of his forfeiture, sold him the *dominium utile* upon very easy terms, probably being anxious to detach him from all possible connection with Huntly, and in this he completely succeeded. For, upon the breaking out of the Civil Wars, eager to revenge himself upon his ungrateful oppressor, he joined Argyle, and it appears that a body of the Clan Cameron under his second son Donald, who bore the soubriquet of Guirke, formed part of the "uncanny trewsmen" mentioned by Baillie as having come to the convention at Perth in 1639, along with the great Marquis.* It would also appear that some of the Clan Cameron assisted General Middleton when he defeated Huntly at the Braes of Glenmoriston in 1647.

Upon the royal standard being raised by Montrose, Allan's views seem to have altered. The most rabid Tory may, indeed, forgive him for his lukewarm loyalty, but he had no sympathy with the causes of the Re-

* *Vide* Gordon's History of Scots Affairs, published by the Spalding Club, Vol II. p. 205-6.

bellion, and only saw in its success the increase of the Marquis of Argyle's already exorbitant power and influence in the Highlands.

With these views he did not join Argyle when he assembled his forces to oppose Montrose ; on the contrary, he waited upon the last mentioned nobleman when he passed through his country, and permitted a small but select body of his followers to join him ; and by despatching the express which informed Montrose of Argyle's arrival at Inverlochy, was the means of bringing on that fatal conflict. This piece of service might, indeed, have been interpreted differently, had Argyle proved victorious ; but it is said that his supernatural powers enabled him to foretell the result.

His eldest son John, the father of Locheill, died a few years after his birth, and for some years previous to these last mentioned events, the young man had been entrusted to the guardianship of the Marquis of Argyle. Sir Walter Scott supposes that he was thus placed as a hostage for the good conduct of the Clan ;* but admitting the plausibility of the conjecture, it really does not appear that the Clan Cameron were ever upon such terms with the Campbells as to render such a demand necessary. The more probable reason seems to be, that the aged Chief having felt the disadvantage of never having been able to appear at Court, was determined that his grandson's education should be such as to fit him for that purpose, while he was anxious that he should be introduced by so powerful, and, till then, loyal a family as that of Argyle. And, on the other hand, the Marquis eagerly seized the opportunity of conciliating the affections of so important a vassal.

But from whatever motives it arose, it is certain that the Marquis fulfilled his duty as a guardian with the utmost kindness and conscientiousness. While he took care to instruct him in all useful learning, and polite and elegant accomplishments, he left him entirely at liberty to form his own views upon the politics and events of the times. It is pleasing to find this instance of good taste and feeling on the part of the Marquis, which forms some relief to the dark features of his character, recorded

* *Vide* Tales of a Grandfather, Second Series, Vol. II. p. 94.

by one whose views were so decidedly different as the author of these Memoirs.

A singular circumstance having excited Locheill's attention to the great events which were passing around him, he applied to Argyle for an explanation of some of his doubts and difficulties; and it is not a little creditable to the ability and impartiality of our author, that he has, upon this occasion, put into Argyle's mouth a more able and ingenious apology for some of the most indefensible actions of his life, than is to be found in the works of any of his professed panegyrists.

Allan M'Ilduy having died about 1647, Locheill, whose principles had now become decidedly loyal, took the earliest possible opportunity of leaving the Marquis, and putting himself at the head of his Clan.

From some reason which does not seem very well explained, he did not join the army which marched under David Lesley to the fatal field of Worcester, although he had mustered his Clan for the purpose; but upon the Earl of Glencairn's raising the royal standard in the Highlands, he appeared among the first of his adherents, and soon signalized himself by his valour and intrepidity. Glencairn, although an able soldier and most resolute man, was not possessed of that commanding intellect which alone could enable him to amalgamate the heterogeneous and discordant materials of which his army was composed; nor was Middleton, who superseded him, at all superior in any respect. The Royalists proved, in consequence, totally unable to cope with the united and disciplined veterans of Cromwell. An immense number of desultory and unconnected skirmishes were however fought, the details of which have been very imperfectly handed down to us, as each party only relates those which are favourable to themselves.

The author of the following Memoirs has contented himself with mentioning a few of the most remarkable in which Locheill was engaged, and in their graphic and circumstantial details, he certainly does the fullest and most ample justice to the admirable organization, activity, and indomitable courage of the Republican forces.

The short but splendid career of Montrose is usually regarded by historians as the most brilliant epoch of the military history of the High-

landers, and Glencairn's rising as one of the most disastrous and inglorious. But the impression upon the minds of those actually engaged does not appear to coincide with what the general results would lead us to anticipate, for the latter inspired the Highlanders with much more confidence in themselves than the former.

The unwarlike and undisciplined character of the great majority of the troops overcome by Montrose, left it still dubious how the Highlanders would behave when opposed to tried veterans; but, while under Glencairn their efforts as a body were paralyzed by treachery, discordance, and disorganization, they found no reason to complain of inferiority in actual conflict.

And what is still more extraordinary, the advantages gained were attributed by the Highlanders, not, as is usually supposed, to physical or mental causes, but solely to the superiority of their arms and mode of fighting.

These novel views may possibly render some parts of the present work not altogether uninteresting to such military readers as carry their views of their profession beyond shakoes and pipe-clay.

It would be anticipating the narrative to give any details of these exploits, or of the ingenious stratagem by which Locheill finally obtained his honourable capitulation, and in which he displayed so much boldness and address. In arranging the terms of this treaty he was, however, much indebted to his old friend the Marquis of Argyle.

Whenever peace was declared, he rapidly rose in Monk's friendship and estimation, whose sagacity easily discerned the value of such an adherent.

About this period Locheill married his first wife, a daughter of Macdonald of Slate, and the description of the wedding, together with the strains of the Highland votary of Parnassus, form an interesting picture of the manners of the times, and a pleasing relief from the dark scenes of bloodshed and disorder contained in the First Book; but the lovers of the Gaelic have great reason to regret that the poet's verses have not been preserved in their original tongue.

The Second Book commences with a short account of the motives by

which Monk was actuated in accomplishing the Restoration, and of the means by which he effected it. So far as it goes, it coincides entirely with the views adopted by Guizot in his admirable sketch of that remarkable man. Some curious, and it is believed original, anecdotes illustrative of his profound duplicity and knowledge of human character are also given.

After the Restoration, Locheill became involved in a variety of lawsuits and disputes, some of them originating in the late wars, and others of a much older date, so that his life was, as Pennant describes, one of stormy tranquillity.

By far the most important was the old misunderstanding with Macintosh, whose family had many centuries before obtained charters to certain lands which had been always possessed by the Camerons. Considering the way in which charters were then obtained, and the length of time during which the Camerons had been in possession, no one can doubt that the mode of settlement proposed by Locheill, of giving Macintosh a sum of money in lieu of his claim, was the most fair and equitable one. But Macintosh, confiding in the strength of his legal rights, pushed them to their utmost extent, and obtained an act of Parliament against Locheill in very stringent terms, and upon his refusal to obey, letters of fire and sword were at last granted. But these measures were so little in accordance with the general feeling, that all the gentlemen joined in the commission of fire and sword refused to co-operate with Macintosh, and even his own Clan declined for long to obey him. Having at length succeeded in overcoming their scruples, he marched against Locheill, and found him at the head of his Clan, who were, to a man, ready to measure the justice of their cause by the length of their swords. But at this critical period they were reconciled by the mediation of the Earl of Breadalbane, who himself prevailed upon Macintosh at length to accept of Locheill's terms, and displayed his great abilities, not only by his successful mediation, but by escaping the proverbial fate of the redder of a fray.

No sooner was this long protracted feud terminated, than Locheill found himself engaged in fresh difficulties from his connection with the

ancient and powerful family of MacLean, with whom he became connected by his second marriage. A full detail of the unhappy circumstances by which that noble house was finally deprived of its ancient inheritance will here be found; it may be mentioned that it, upon the whole, coincides precisely with the account given in the history of the Clan MacLean, published by "A Seneachie" in 1838, although a much more favourable view of the conduct and motives of the Argyle family is adopted by the present author. According to him, the folly and incapacity of the tutors of the young MacLean, and his own imprudent and vacillating conduct, were the true causes of the ruin of the house.

It seems, indeed, difficult to resist the conviction that there was a large sum of money actually due to the Argyle family, in discharge of which, they would willingly have taken the superiority of the estate, could the pride of the MacLeans have permitted them to make this compromise.

Considering the peculiar terms upon which Locheill stood with the Argyle family, the steadiness with which he adhered to the interests of the MacLeans is highly commendable.

Although Locheill seems to have always stood high in the favour both of Charles the Second and his unfortunate brother, yet it is much to his credit that he does not appear to have been employed in plundering the western counties in 1678; but upon the breaking out of Argyle's rebellion in 1685, he was urgently requested to join in its suppression, which he accordingly did. An unhappy rencounter which took place between two reconnoitring parties of the royal forces, one of which was composed of his men, together with his known friendship for Argyle, subjected him to great suspicion, and he had much difficulty in reinstating himself in the royal favour. There really, however, does not appear to be any reasonable doubts that the explanation given in the Memoirs of these transactions is correct.

The forfeiture of the Marquis of Argyle involved Locheill in fresh difficulties, for as, by the law of Scotland, the vassal forfeits with his overlord, he had actually been labouring to effect his own ruin. Considering the part he had taken in suppressing the rebellion, it might have been expected that he would have got this affair settled without any trouble;

but a claim to his estate was reared up by the Duke of Gordon, which he had great difficulty in resisting. In his negotiations at Court for this purpose, he was much assisted by the celebrated Barclay of Ury, the Quaker, whose sister was his third wife, and who had very great personal influence with James ; thus showing that that unhappy monarch was not altogether so blinded by religious bigotry as is usually imagined. Barclay proved successful in the most material points. And had it not been for the Revolution, would, in all probability, have achieved the great object of Locheill's ambition, by getting him the superiority of his estate.

Perhaps the technical account of these legal proceedings and negotiations, which are contained in the Second Book, may be thought dry and tedious by the general reader ; but the minute details of the complicated relations between superior and vassal, and the singular melange of legal forms, political intrigue, and open violence, which constituted a Scotish law-suit in the seventeenth century, may possibly be considered as the most interesting to the antiquarian.

The Third Book is chiefly occupied with an account of the principal events which took place in the Highlands from the Revolution till a short time after the Massacre of Glencoe. The narrative is minute and circumstantial, and interspersed with a variety of curious anecdotes ; the characters given of Dundee and the various Highland Chiefs are particularly interesting ; while the facts are so well substantiated by the unerring test of the public records, as to afford a satisfactory guarantee for historical accuracy.

In the notes, the narrative is compared with Mackay's Memoirs, and other contemporary writings, from which the reader will be enabled to judge of the correctness of the author's views and reflections. The prominent part assigned to Locheill in the Rebellion of 1688-9, and subsequent treaty, is fully corroborated by the authorities quoted in the notes.

Some singular statements are given as to the views and feelings of the Highlanders in regard to these transactions. It appears, that towards the close of Charles II.'s reign, the discontent of the Chieftains at the system of subinfeudation had attained its height, and that the consequent evils had become so great, that James II. had conceived a plan

for abolishing it by purchasing up these superiorities; and that this was one of the causes of his great popularity in the Highlands.

It may appear paradoxical, but the editor cannot help hazarding the conjecture, that the motives which prompted the Highlanders to support King James were substantially the same as those by which the promoters of the Revolution were actuated. For it must be borne in mind, that the law had generally proved a most partial and oppressive task-mistress to the Highlanders, and the freedom of the subject had only increased the power of the great noblemen to oppress their inferiors, who had hitherto found the royal prerogative the safest guardian of their natural rights and liberties.

What renders this conjecture more plausible is the fact, that, acute and sagacious as the Highland Chieftains certainly were, yet their attention seems to have been too much engrossed by the events of the present, to permit them to concern themselves for the future; and they might not have reflected how dangerous arbitrary principles of government would ultimately prove to those very rights which they in the meantime protected.

But, whatever were their motives, the Chieftains certainly adhered to King James with the most steady and praiseworthy loyalty.

In spite of the neglect and coldness with which they were treated by their sovereign, they rejected the most brilliant and tempting offers from their antagonists, and, even when success was hopeless, refused to capitulate without the sanction of their master. The money distributed among them by King William appears originally to have been intended to purchase up the superiorities; but this enlightened and judicious plan was thwarted by the avarice and perfidy of those who had the management of the negotiation; while the acceptance of the money cannot be looked upon as a bribe, but as a fair remuneration for the losses they had sustained. The fate of Ireland, and the Massacre of Glencoe, render it certain that it was the terror of their arms alone which wrung from their cruel and treacherous opponents the honourable pacification they finally obtained. However, the ultimate effect of these transactions proved extremely detrimental to the Highlands, as it prevented the

Chieftains from turning their attention to the arts of peace, and induced them to maintain upon their lands many more inhabitants than were necessary for its cultivation, with the view of enhancing their military influence.

The lower orders in the Highlands, although an indolent race, were naturally peaceful in their inclinations; and the Chieftains and great feudal lords appear latterly to have been obliged to employ every means, both of argument, persuasion, and authority, to keep up the military spirit of their followers. A striking illustration of this will be found in No. I. of the Appendix; from which it appears how harsh and oppressive the system of heritable jurisdictions had become about 1715, and what a powerful instrument of compulsion it was; and, indeed, the publication of the Athol Correspondence has effectually proved that the patriarchal power of the Chieftains was, in 1745, totally inefficacious in raising their men, and that it was only by the strictest exercise of feudal authority that an army was set on foot.

But to return from this digression. Nothing memorable occurred in the life of Locheill after the events which terminate the present MS. His age and infirmities rendered him unable to take any share in the Rebellion of 1715. It appears from the papers connected with the prosecution raised against his grandson, Cameron of Fassfern, in 1755, that he was in possession of a Plantation in the West Indies, which he made over to his family, along with his other property, some years before his death.

The following account of the last years of his life was copied by Miss Cameron of Locheill from the Balhaldy Papers; it is evidently intended to have formed the substance of the conclusion of the work, but has not been incorporated into any of the MSS. to which the Editor has had access.

FRAGMENT OF AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF SIR EWEN CAMERON, COPIED FROM THE BALHADIE PAPERS.

His eyes retained their former vivacity, and his sight was so good in his ninetieth year that he could discern the most minute object, and read the smallest print; nor did he so much as want a tooth, which to me seemed as white and close as one would have imagined they were in the twentieth year of his age.

In this state he was when I had the good fortune to see him in 1716; and so great was his strength at that time, that he wrung some blood from the point of my fingers with a grasp of his hand. He was of the largest size; his bones big, his countenance fresh and smooth, and he had a certain air of greatness about him, which struck the beholders with awe and respect. His cousin, Sir [John] M'Lean, used to say of him, that as often as he saw Sir Ewen Cameron, so often did the idea of the great Louis of France seize his imagination. Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, likewise his great friend and relation, affirmed the same thing; and said the resemblance was nearer than commonly that between two brothers; with this difference, that Sir Ewen was of a darker complexion, more brawny, and of a larger size. That Lord was one of his greatest admirers; and upon the news of his death, wrote a letter of condolence to the present Locheill, wherein he compared him to the most generous patriots and noblest heroes of antiquity.

The story I am going to relate would be absolutely incredible, if it were not vouched by a multitude of witnesses. Very early that morning whereon the Chevalier de St George landed at Peterhead in the North of Scotland, attended only by Allan Cameron, one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, Sir Ewen started, as it were, in a surprise from his sleep, and called out so loud to his lady (who lay by him in another bed) that his King was landed, that his King was arrived, and that his son Allan was with him, that she awaked; and inquiring if he wanted anything, he repeated the same thing over and over again, and commanded a large bonfire to be put on, and the best liquor in the house to be

brought out to his lads, (for so he commonly called his Clan,) for to make merry and drink his King's health.—The lady, who at first fancied that he was raving, did not much notice him ; but he was so instant and positive, and commanded with such authority, that she was in the end obliged to obey. Not only his grandchildren and domestics, but all the people of the neighbourhood, were convened to that solemnity, which they celebrated with uncommon festivity and mirth, until the next day was near spent. His lady was so curious, that she noted down the words upon paper, with the date ; which she a few days after found verified in fact, to her great surprise. I do not pretend to account for this visionary kind of revelation.

The like befell him in his youth, whereby he was saved from an imminent danger, as I have noticed ; and all I shall say upon the matter is, that it seems no conclusive argument against the truth of a fact, that it cannot be accounted for, unless it shall be made out, that all the secrets of nature, and the wonderful dispensations of Providence, are revealed to human understanding. In the present case, Sir Ewen's waking through his sleep, his expressing the words, and giving the orders here related, stand not only vouched by the lady and a servant that lay near him, but likewise by the multitude convened to the solemnity, who all came and kissed their Chief's hand, and informed themselves of the truth of it, from himself. Besides, contrary to his usual custom, he talked of nothing else all the next day ; gave orders from time to time to carry out more liquor to his lads, and said that he should see his son Allan, but should never have the honour of seeing his King !

To conclude the life of this remarkable man, he enjoyed a continued state of health from his birth to his death, excepting the flux I have mentioned in 1674, which lasted a whole year, and he died of a high fever in February 1719, after a glorious and honourable life of ninety years. His blood was never drawn either [by the] enemy or a chirurgeon, and but once that we hear of by an accident of tramping upon a sharp, small pointed knife, which ran quite through the thick of his foot, and which befell him in his younger days, while he kept the mountains. This knife chancing to break at the handle where it joins the blade, he caused one

of his attendants pull it out with his teeth, and the blood following it with a great gush, struck the gentleman full in the mouth, which gave Locheill so much diversion, that he said merrily, that if the knife had given him a sore foot, it had likewise given that gentleman sore teeth and a foul mouth!

Some hours before he died, his fever left him, and his memory and judgment returned, and he discoursed as sensibly as ever he was known to do in his greatest vigour. He called his sons, Major Donald and Ludovick Cameron, of whom, and his other sons, we shall hereafter say something, and all his other friends and domestics that chanced to be about him;—to each of whom he spoke a word or two, and then recommended to them, in general, religion, loyalty, patriotism, and the love of their friends. In a word, his exit was suitable to his life, and he left a memory behind him so glorious, that his name is still mentioned in those countries with the utmost veneration and respect.

The reader will best form a character of this gentleman from his actions, and therefore we shall only touch on some few particulars that are not so obvious to his observation. Being only in the eleventh year of his age, when the grand Rebellion against King Charles I. broke out, it was impossible that he could be educated agreeably to his genius and rank; and though the Marquis of Argyle, his guardian, designed to have sent him to Oxford, yet the Civil Wars being then in their greatest fury, he was obliged to keep him about his person; and, indeed, took all the care of him that those busy times would permit. The conversation with Secretary Spottiswoode inspiring him thereafter with a generous ambition of acting the patriot, he retired to his own country; where his habitation was for the most part in the mountains, and his conversation only with such company as could but . . . . . .

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This narrative contradicts Pennant's assertion, that Locheil's faculties were latterly impaired, and it makes no mention of the cradle in which that author, and after him Sir Walter Scott, General Stewart, and others, allege he was rocked. The fact of his mind being entire is also cor-

roborated by Patten, in his History of the Rebellion of 1715, published in 1717.

At the period when the Tales of a Grandfather were published, every inquiry was made to ascertain if any tradition regarding the cradle existed, but none was found, although it was said that he had lost the use of his lower limbs, and turned himself in bed by the assistance of a rope and pulley. At the same time, it is proper to mention, that the person who supplied Pennant with his information was, in every other respect, perfectly accurate.

The nature of these remarks will, it is hoped, free the Editor from the charge of being an indiscriminate "laudator temporis acti." Yet he will venture to say, that, even in the present age, when the interests of mankind, and the mode of attaining the objects of social existence, are so much better understood, the activity, energy, and determination of the feudal baron, and patriarchal chief, may still be a model to their posterity.

It is much to be regretted that none of the Author's notices of Sir Ewen's family have been preserved; but the following brief account of his descendants may perhaps form an appropriate conclusion to the present remarks.

Sir Ewen left at least three sons, John, Allan, and Ludovick; the Editor has been unable to find any allusion to Donald, who is mentioned in the Balhaldy fragment. There were also eleven daughters, all married to Chiefs, or landed proprietors.

John, the eldest, appears, like his grandfather, to have had a greater genius for civil than for military affairs; he commanded the Clan Cameron in 1689 after the battle of Killiecrankie, when Sir Ewen's age rendered him unable to support the fatigues of the harassing and inglorious system of hostilities adopted by General Canon, contrary to his advice and remonstrances. In 1696, Sir Ewen made over the greater part of his estates to him, reserving his own liferent, as appears from deeds still extant. He was a zealous Jacobite, and was deeply implicated in every scheme for restoring the exiled family. About 1706, a warrant was issued to apprehend him as guilty of high treason; but it does not

appear that it was ever put in execution. He again commanded the Clan in the Rebellion of 1715; but before going out, he took the precaution of making over his estates to his son Donald.

His conduct on that occasion seems to have given but little satisfaction either to his father or the Clan, and it is reported, that they expressed an unwillingness again to serve under him. Being forfeited for his share in that rebellion, he retired to France, and never returned to Scotland, (although the contrary has sometimes been erroneously asserted,) but died, it is supposed, at Boulogne at a very advanced age, in 1747.

During the whole course of his long life, he was actively engaged in the service of the exiled family. A servant of his, named Duncan Cameron, was one of the seven persons who accompanied the Chevalier to Scotland in 1745, in order to assist them in their disembarkation, by his knowledge of the localities. Duncan's account of the voyage was preserved by Bishop Forbes, and partly printed by Mr Chambers in his Jacobite Memoirs.

Allan, the second brother, is generally supposed to have been at first a Lieutenant in the 21st Scots Fusileers, and to have been present with his regiment at the battle of Killiecrankie; but the Editor has been unable to find any other authority for this than tradition. However, he soon left the royal army, and retired to France. In 1715, he was summoned to appear at Edinburgh, along with other gentlemen of Jacobite principles, as Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Locheill; but, of course, did not obey. He attended the Chevalier de St George from France in December 1715, and landed with him at Peterhead, and again accompanied him when he left Scotland. He was despatched to the Highlands in 1725, and was employed in keeping up a correspondence with the Highland Chieftains till about 1730, when he again appears to have returned to France, and lived with the Chevalier de St George, and certainly died before 1745.

Ludovick, of Torrcastle, so called from his residing there, acted as young Locheil's Major in 1745, and died in France.

John (Sir Ewen's eldest son) had five sons, who grew up to manhood; viz. Donald, of 1745, whose character and exploits it is needless to enlarge upon, as they now form part of the history of his country, he

became proprietor of the estates of the family in 1706, during the life of his grandfather Sir Ewen, by a conveyance from his father as already mentioned, and died a Colonel in the French service, in 1748. 2. John of Fassfern, who became a merchant, and was for some time resident in the West Indies. He was successful in business, and although he did not join in the Rebellion of 1745, yet he appears to have materially aided his brother by supplying him with the sinews of war. Falling under the odium of Government, he was, upon very slender evidence, and after very arbitrary proceedings, found guilty of abstracting documents connected with the claims upon the forfeited estate of Lochiell, which were alleged to have been forged, and banished from Scotland by an Act of Sederunt of the Court of Session for ten years, during which time he resided at Alnwick. He was grandfather to the present Sir Duncan Cameron of Fassfern. 3. Dr Archibald Cameron, whose exertions in the cause of the Stuart family, and melancholy fate, are too well known to admit of their being here recapitulated. 4. Alexander, who died a priest. 5. Ewen, who died a planter in Jamaica.

The whole of the family estates were declared forfeited by Act of Parliament, and annexed to the Crown in the year 1746.

Donald had two sons, John, who succeeded to his father's regiment in France, and afterwards came to the Highlands, but died a very young man. 2. Charles, who succeeded his brother, and obtained from the Crown leases of parts of the forfeited estates of the family upon very easy terms; he received a commission in the 71st Highlanders when first embodied, and raised a company of his clansmen. When the regiment was ordered on foreign service, he was in London dangerously ill; but, hearing that his men refused to embark without him, he hurried to Glasgow, where they were quartered, and had the satisfaction of finding that the eloquence of Colonel Fraser of Lovat, their commander, had persuaded them to return to their duty; but the exertion proved too much for his health, and he died shortly afterwards.

It is said, that he was received in Glasgow with great pomp and enthusiasm, as it was generally supposed that it was his father who prevented that city from being plundered in 1745.

He married a lady of the name of Marshall, and had a large family, but only two survived; viz. Donald, born in the year 1769, to whom the family estates were restored in 1784, by Act of Parliament, and a daughter named Anne, who was married to Vaughan Forster, Esq., a Major in the Army, and died lately, leaving a son, Charles Forster, Esq.

Donald of 1769 was married to the Honourable Anne Abercromby, (who still survives,) daughter of General Sir Ralph Abercromby, Bart., and had a family of two sons and two daughters; viz. Donald, the present representative of the family, formerly a Captain in the Grenadier Regiment of Guards, and who is married to the Lady Catherine Vere Louisa Hobart; Alexander, Mary Anne, and Matilda. The present Locheill and Lady Vere Cameron have a family of sons and daughters.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

TO

MEMOIRS OF LOCHEILL.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LIFE OF SIR EWEN CAMERON OF LOCHEILL,

CHIEF OF THE CLAN CAMERON;

CONTAINING

THE ANTIQUITYS OF THAT FAMILY, WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE NEIGHBOURING CLANS.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

The Camerons have a tradition, that they are originaly descended from a younger son of one of the Kings of Denmark, who assisted at the restoration of King Fergus the Second in the year 404, and that Prince was called Cameron from his crooked nose, as the word imports, which name he transmitted to his posterity. But it seems more probable that they are of the aborigines, the antient Scots or Caledonians, that first planted the country.

I. ANGUS.

But whatever their original may be, it is certain they are very antient. A learned antiquary informs us, that Angus,* their ancestour, marryed

* Kenneth was grandson to Ethus, King of Scotland, by his second son, Doir M'Aodh, who was born in 870, in the twelfth of King Constantine the Second, his uncle. This Doir was, on the accession of Constantine the Third, his brother, to the throne, created Thane of Lochaber in 903, and dyed in 936, aged sixty-six, which fell out in the thirty-third of his said brother's reign. The forenamed Kenneth, the son of Doir, was born in 960, the second of the reign of Indulph, and dyed in 1030, which was the seventieth of his age; leaving issue by Dunclina, daughter to King Kenneth the Third, his wife :—

I. Banchо, or Banquho, who succeeded him in his estate and honours.

II. Alexander, progenitor of the antient Earles of Lennox.

III. Castisa, married to Donald, Thane of Southerland, ancestour to the antient Earles of that name.

IV. Gunera, married to Malcolm, Lord of Bute.

V. Marion, married to Angus, or Æneas, ancestour of the Camerons.

VI. Beatrix, married to Hugh, *alias* Aodh, M'Ean, ancestour of the Douglasses.—*Vide* Mr David Symson's Genealogical and Chronological Account of the Stuarts *ab initio*, edit. Edinburg. 1713.

Marion, one of the daughters of Kenneth III., and sister of the famous Bancho, Thane of Lochaber, which is a proof that he was a person of rank and dignity even at that time.* For Bancho was a Prince of the Blood Royal, and Governor of one of the largest provinces in the kingdom, the country of Lochaber being said to have comprehended at that time all that extensive tract of land between the river of Spey and the West Seas, and has the honour to have one of the most illustrious families in Europe descended of him in a direct line,—I mean that of the Royal House of Stewart, as all our historians agree.

II. GILLESPICK.

As this Angus is said to have been instrumental in saveing Fleance, the son of Bancho, his lady's nephew, from the cruelty of the usurper Macbeath, so his own son Gillespick, or Archibald, was one of these loyal patriots who assisted at the restoration of King Malcolm III., surnamed Kenmore, the true heir of the Crown, in anno 1057.

That illustrious Prince was no sooner seated on the throne of his ancestours, than he gratefuly rewarded all those who had most eminently distinguished themselves in that important service; and, among many others, we find that this Gillespick was advanced to the dignity of Lord Baron,† 25th of Aprill 1057.

* Viz. in anno 1030.

† "Malcomus Scotorum Rex 86^{us} Sconæ Coronatus anno 1061. Inde Forfarum Generale indixit concilium volens ut primores quod antea non fuerat aliarum more gentium a prædiis suis cognomina capereut quosdam vero etiam Comites (vulgo Earles) quosdam Barones (vulgo Lords) alios Milites aut Equites Auratos (vulgo Martiall Knights) creavit MacDuffum Fifæ Thanum Fifæ Comitem Patritium Dumbarum,Marchiarum Comitem; alios quoque viros præstantes, Montethiæ, Atholiæ, Marriæ, Cathanesiæ, Rossiæ, Angusiæ, dixit comites, Johannem Soules, Davidem D'Ardier ab Abernethiæ, Simonem a Tueddell, Gulielmum a Douglas, Gillespium Cameron, Davidem Briechen Hugonem a Caldella Barones cum diversis aliis equites Auratos perplures pauci vero Thani relictæ."—This account we have from an extract out of the antient registers and monuments of Icolmkill, quoted by Mr Home of Godscroft in his History of the Douglasses. Mr Home adds, that the above extract, out of the said Registers, was sent to George Buchanan when he was writing his History, whereof John Reid, his amanuensis, having reserved a copy, did communicate it to diverse afterwards.—Hist. Douglas, p. 11, edit. Edin. 1644. That Buchanan saw, and made use of, this note seems very plain from the account he gives of this meeting or Parliament at Forfar, the 25th of April 1057. See his History, Lib. vii. Vit. Malcol. III.

It is generally agreed that this King was the first who introduced titles of honour into Scotland, and gave property to his subjects of the lands they possessed. Before this time they were no more than tenents to the Crown, nor had the nobility* any other honours but what they derived from their being chiefs of their respective clans, or from their offices and magistracys, whereof the principal† were Abthanes and Thanes. The first of these was superintendant of the Royal Revenues, and his office was the same with that of Lord High Steward‡ afterwards ; and the other had the care of particular provinces committed to them, and very much resembled our Lords Lieutenents. It was, no doubt, very honorable for the Camerons to be among the first chiefs that were dignifyed by the Crown, when faction and intrigue prevailed so little at Court, and when rank and merit onely could entitle them to so early a promotion.

But dignitys,§ it seems, were not then hereditary, but ended with the lives of the persons on whom they were conferred, though often renewed to the son, and it had been happy for succeeding princes that they had continued that practice, and made honor and merit go always hand in hand. Antiently the chiefs or heads of familys were the *Proceres Regni*, or the prime nobility.

The Highlanders are the onely people of Scotland that are free from mixture. They are obstinatly tenatious of their antient customs ; and honor their chiefs, as such, to this day, by giveing them the title of

* The word nobility comprehended the gentry as well as these who were dignifyed with titles. It is still so in France, for both are called the noblesse, and are only distinguished by adding the words *Grand* and *Petite*.

† Titles were nothing originaly but offices of dignity. Thus Thegn, or Theyn, signifys in the Teutonick a chief servant, which Latine historians have changed into Thanus, from which the word Thane, as we write it in modern orthography.

‡ Steward is a compound of two words, and was antiently written Stead-ward, which is of the same signification with Prorex or Viceroy, because he supplyed the king's stead or place. The word Earle is likeways a compound of *Ear*, (honour,) and *Ethel*, (noble,) now abridged in *Erel*, or *Earle*, Honourable, and Noble. See Verstigan upon these words.

§ These dignitys of the first creation all disappear in the next generation, except the Earles of March and Fife, whose titles seem to have been renewed to their heirs. Nor will it be easy to fix upon the time when titles became hereditary.

Dtiurn,* which is the same with *Dominus* in Latine, and Lord with us, and is the highest in the Celtick or Gaulick, for they address God in the same word.

III. JOHN.

After this, we hear nothing of the Camerons till the heroik reign of Robert the First, anno 1306. Their chief, named John, surnamed Ochtery, served that illustrious King in all his wars, and he is one of these generous patriots that subscribes the famous letter which was sent by the Scots nobility to the Pope in 1320, wherin they plead their King's title to his Crown, and the independency of his kingdom, with a spirit and zeal that is justly admired by posterity:† Nor was this brave gentleman less active in the service of King David the Second, the son and successor of the renouned King Robert. He commanded a body of that Prince's troops, (probably his own clan,) and was posted in the third ward‡ or division of the army at the rash and unfortunat battle of Halidounhill, 15th July 1333, and continued to serve in these wars till the English were expelled the kingdome, and the King fully settled on his throne.

From the above John Ochtery there is a succession of seventeen chiefs in a lineal descent to Donald, who died in 1748, viz. :—

I. Allan M'Ochtery, Son to John.
II. Ewen M'Allan, 1st.
III. Donald M'Ewen, 1st.
IV. Ewen M'Conell.

* The appellative Dtiurn is purly Celtick, and that of Lord is originaly Teutonick. Verstigan says, that it was antiently written Laford, from the word Laf, (which we now write Loaf,) and ford, and signifys ane afforder of bread. It is said to be the onely one with us that does not come from ane office originaly. The word Laird, now in use with us to signify the proprietor of ane estate in lands, is a corruption, or rather a wrong pronunciation, of the word Lord, and was given to none but chiefs and great barons;—simple proprietors of lands were called Goodmen, and the Highlanders still continue that distinction.

† See the original, which is still extant in the Advocates' Library.

‡ Abercromby's History, Vol. II. p. 27, in Vita Davidis II., for which he quotes several English authors.

V. Donald Dow M'Conell, his Brother, 1st.
VI. Ewen M'Conell Duie.
VII. Donald M'Ewen, 2d.
VIII. Allan M'Conell Duie, 1st.
IX. Ewen M'Allan, 2d.
X. Donald M'Ewen, 2d.
XI. Ewen M'Conell.
XII. Donald Dow M'Conell, 2d, his Brother.
XIII. Allan M'Conell Duie, 2d.
XIV. John M'Allan.
XV. Ewen M'Ian, or Sir Ewen.
XVI. John M'Ewen.
XVII. Donald M'Ian.

In the above reign of David II. the bloody wars between this Clan and another in the neighbourhood, called the Clan Macintosh, had their beginning, and proved of the longest continuance, and perhaps the bloodyest that ever happened between parties of their power. Before this time the chiefs were not onely serviceable to the crown, but lived in peace and unity among themselves, and in submission to the laws. But after the Lords of the Isles, of whom by and by we shall give ane account, usurpt an illegal authority over them, they were obliged to submit to his great power.

But before we proceed farther, it seems proper to give some account of the Clan Macintosh, and of the grounds of their quarrell with the Camerons, in which we shall, for want of better authority, be obliged to follow that of Macintosh of Kinraura, who wrote the history of his chief's family, though his veracity is not allways to be depended on.

That author says, that the Macintoshes are descended from one Schaw or Sheagh, a younger son of Duncan Macduff, the second of that name, Earle of Fife, and great-grandson to the famous Duncan Macduff who killed the tyrant Macbeath. That the said Schaw got ane estate near Inverness from King Malcolm IV., in the year 1163, for his bravery in a battle against the people of Murray who were in rebellion, and that

he was called Macintosh from his being the son of a Thane or Earl, as the word itself imports, which has still continued to his posterity. The sirname of Schaw is likewayes said to have had its beginning about the same time from one Duncan Macduff, sirnamed M'Sheagh ; he was grandson to the Earl of Fife, and second cousine to Macintosh.

The same writter affirms that Angus sixth Laird of Macintosh did, in March 1291, marry Eve, only child to Gillespick, chief of the Clan Chattan, and by her gott the estate of Glenlui and Locharkike, with the chieftainry of the Clan Chattan, who were even then a people in great repute.

This Clan Chattan bring their descent from a German extract, and there are several very antient and noble familys that call themselves branches of that stock, whereof the Earl of Sutherland, chief of that name, and the Earl Marishall, likewayes chief of the Keiths, are the most considerable.

That branch of the Clancattan which now inhabite the country of Badenoch, but are formerly said to have lived in Lochaber, whereof Macintosh claims the chieftanrey, is called the Clanvuirich or Macphersons, from one of their predecessors, who was a churchman, and bore the office of Parson during the life of ane elder brother.

The Chief of this tribe, who is known by the title of the Laird of Cluny, though, with other neightbouring Chiefs, he joyned Macintosh in their common quarrell against the Camerons, often disputed the matter, and alleaged, [1.] That whatever title Macintosh might have to the estate, by vertue of his marriage with the heiress I have mentioned, yet he could have non to the Clanchattan, seeing he neither assumed the name nor arms of that family. 2*do*, That neither estate nor Clan can goe by ane heiress in the Highlands, where the Salique law takes place in all great families, as much as it does in France, and that he being the heir-male of Gillespick, or Gillspatrick, as others call him, though by a collateral branch, is legally entituled to the chieftainry, and with it ought to have had the estate. And, 3*tio*, That Macintosh cutt off his clan,* designing himself Captain of the Clan Chattan, for neither the Earls of Marishall, Sutherland, nor any others who claimed their descent from that

* Sic in MS.—May the author's meaning not be,—was cut off from his claim of?—*Edit*

stock, would acknowledge him* as their Chief, but as they severally sett up for themselves, so he (Cluny) had the same privelidge, seeing Macintosh, by his title of Captain of the Clanchattan, which included the whole, could have no better right to lord it over him than he had over the rest, of whose blood and lineage they denyed him to be. Besides all this, Cluny controverted his marriage with the forementioned heiress, and asserted that he gott the estate not by vertue of that, but of an iniquitous decree of the Lord of the Isles, of whom we shall hereafter inform the reader.

But, however the case was, it is certain that the house of Macintosh was of great power and figure in the North, and that the Chiefs of that name have thought their clame to the estate I have mentioned so good, that they disputed their title to that part of it called the estate of Glenlui and Locharkike with the Camerons, from generation to generation, allmost to the utter ruine of both familys.

If the Camerons had any other right to the estate in question but simple possession, I know not. All I can say of the matter is, that very few, especially in these parts, could alleage a better at that time. The Macintoshes, however, pretend, that, besides the story of the marriage, they had a charter or patent to those lands from the Lord of the Isles in anno 1337, and that it was confirmed by King David II. in February 1359. But the Camerons, it would seem, had little regard to these rights; for, in 1370, says my author, they invaded the Macintoshes, and having carried away a great booty of cattle, and such other goods as fell in their way, they were persued and overtaken att a place called Innernahawn, by Lachlan, then Laird of Macintosh, who was routed, and who had a whole branch of his Clan called the Clan Day cutt off to a man.

That unhappy tribe payed dear for the honour they had in being preferred that day to the van of the battle, in opposition to the Macphersons, that claimed it; and so far resented the injury which they thought was done them, that they would not ingadge att all. But Macintosh, having some-

* He died the 7th May 1370.

thing of a poetical gencius, composed certain ridiculous rhymes, which he gave out were made in derision of their cowardice by the Camerons, and thereby irritated them to such a degree of furry against them, that they returned next morning, attacked and defeated them, while they were burryed in sleep and security after their late victorey.

IV. ALLAN M'OCHTRY.

Allan, sirnamed M'Ochtry, was then Chief of the Camerons, and had some years before succeeded the forementioned John, his father, in the command. He lost many of his followers in this route, and among others his kinsman, Charles M'Gillery, ancestor of that tribe of the Camerons called the Clan M'Gillery. That is, the family of the Gilbertsons or Gibsons. The place where this happened is from him called Corriecharlich, that is, Charles his corry, or hollow.

The Camerons did not long delay to revenge themselves on their enemies, and, in a word, their conflicts were so frequent, and at the same time so feirce and bloody, that they made no small noise att court. For the partys, besides their own strength, had many friends and allys that joyned them; so that they often brought considerable armys to the field.

Robert the Third then satt upon the throne. He was a Prince of a mild and peaceable temper, and so valetudinarey, that he was obliged to mannage all his affairs by his ministers. His brother, the Duke of Albaney, an active and vigilant Prince, governed att Court; and two of his principall nobility, Thomas Dunbar Earl of March, and James Lindsay Earl of Crawford, commanded his troops. These two generals were sent to the Highlands to settle these commotions; but finding that they could not execute their orders by force, without risking the loss of their army, they endeavoured to bring the rivall Chieffs to some reasonable terms of agreement; and, after many overtures, fell upon a proposall that was very agreeable to both. It was in a word this: That thirty of each side should fight before the King and Court, without any other arms but their swords, and that the party that should happen to be defeated should

have ane indemnity for all past offences ; and that the conquerors, besides the estate in dispute, should be honoured with the royall favour. By this method, continued they, the plea will be determined in a manner that will testifie your submission and loyalty to the Crown, and give the world a lasting proofe of the courage and bravery of the partys.

Pursuant to this treaty, both the Chiefs appeared at Court, and all preliminarys being adjusted, the King ordered a part of the North Inch, or plain upon the banks of the river, near the city of Perth, to be enclosed with a deep ditch, in form of an amphitheatre, with seats or benches for the spectators, his Majesty himself being to sitt judge of the field.

The fame of this extraordinary combate soone spreading over the kingdome, drew infinite crouds from all parts to witnes so memorable an event. The combatants appeared resolute and fearless, but when they were just ready to engage, one of the Macintoshes, who had withdrawn himself for fear, was amisseing. Whereupon the King commanded that one of the Camerons should be removed ; but all of them expressing a great unwillingness to be exempted from the common danger, one of the spectators, named Henry Wynd, a saddler and citizen of Perth, presented himself before the King, and offerred to supply the place of the absent coward, on condition that if his party came off with victorey that he should have a half French crown of gold for his reward.

The parties being now equall, to it they fell, and fought with all the rage and furry that hatred, revenge, and an insatiable thrist of glory, could inspire into the breasts of the feirsest of mankind. Like lyons and tigers they tore and butchered one another, without any regaird to their own safety, and the reader will find it easier to imagine than to express the various passions, that agitated the breasts of the spectators in the different scens of so bloody a tragedy. The King, a good-natured Prince, was seized with an inexpressible horrour, nor were there any present who were not shoked at the crewell spectacle. But it was observed that Henry Wynd distinguished himself above all others during this furious conflict ; as he was not spirited and disordered by the same passions with the rest of the party, so he employed his strength, and directed his courage, with more discretion and play ; and to his conduct it was

principally ascribed, that they at last had the advantage of their antagonists. For of the Macintoshes ten (but they all mortally wounded) survived; and only one of the Camerons escaped; he, having the good fortune to remain unhurt, had the address to save himself by swiming over the river of Tay, nor were the miserable victors in a condition to prevent him. The brave mercenary, Henry Wynd, likewayes survived without so much as a scratch on his body. His valure is still famous among his countreymen, and gave rise to a proverb, which is commonly repeated when any third person unnecessarily engadges himself in the quarells of others—"He comes in like Henry Wynd for his own hand."

Such was the issue of this memorable combate, which, though it did not putt an end to the differance betwixt the rivall Clans, yet the most fierce and turbulent among them being destroyed, it suspended the effects of it for several years thereafter.

I know that some of our historians have, by their ignorance of Highland affairs, named ane imaginary people whom they call the Clankey, and not the Clan Cameron, as party to Macintosh in the above skirmish; but besides a constant and uniform tradition, the forecited historian is positive that the Macintoshes were never at variance, nor engaged in war with any other clan but the Camerons, and that all their antient MSS. agree in the same thing, and expressly mention the Camerons as their party in this; add to this, that the best Highland Antiquarys deny that there ever was such a people as the Clankey in these parts, or, if there was, they were so mean and obscure, that there is not so much as a vestige or memory of them in the Highlands.

Allan M'Ochtry, the forementioned Chief of the Camerons, did not long survive it.* Besyds the wars wherein he was continually engadged, he, according to the humour of Knight-Errantry that then generally prevailed, fought a duel in vindication of the honour of an injured lady, and she, in gratitude to her deliverer, has celebrated his valure in an elegant song, which is still sung with pleasure by his posterity. From him the Family of the Ochiltrys are said to be descended, though, I presume, upon no other grounds than a meer similitude of sound.

* *N.B.*—This duel hapned in the time of Ewen his sone, though misplaced by mistake.

V. EWEN M'ALLAN.

He was succeeded by his son Ewen, who died soon thereafter, [and] was followed by Donald, surnamed M'Ewen from his father.* This last [Allan M'Ochtry] had to his wife a lady of the name of Drummond, a daughter of the House of Stobhall, by whom he had two sons, who succeeded him, the one after the other.

VI. DONALD M'EWEN.

Donald, the youngest, was a gentleman of extraordinary prudence and valour, and acquired so great a reputation among his people, that the Chiefs, his descendants, assumed his name, and still call themselves M'Coilduys, that is, the sons of Black Donald, which has since continued to be the patronimick of the family. He was perpetually engaged either in domestick or foreign wars; but that which gave him the greatest trouble was the disturbance raised by the Lord of the Isles, of whom, and of the original cause of these troubles, it seems necessary to give some previous account.

Donald, surnamed Bane from his fair complection, the unworthey brother of the great Malcolm Kenmore, having, during the usurpation of Macbeath, resided in the Ebridæ or Western Isles, afterwards formed a designe upon the Crown in prejudice of his brother's children; and for that purpose, obtained assistance from Magnus King of Norway, upon condition that, when he came to be King, he would make over these Isles

* He [Allan M'Ochtry] marryed to his Lady a younger daughter of Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, predecessor to the present Duke of Perth. Lieutenant-General Drummond, Viscount of Strathallan, in his Genealogical Account of the Drummonds, says, that this Lady was maryed to the Lord of the Isles. But this must be a mistake. For that Lord was maryed to a daughter of the Earl of Ross, in whose right his sone claimed that Earldome in default of male issue, which brought on the Battle of Harlaw, as will by and by appear. The mistake seems to proceed from this, that there being a tradition in the family that one of these daughters was married to a Highland chief, the General has thought it proper to bestow her on the greatest then in being. The Lady's sister, Annabella, was Queen to Robert III., and mother to K. James I.

to him. Magnus, pursuant to this bargain, being putt in possession, he and his successors enjoyed them 167 years, that is, till the year 1263. That Alexander the Third of Scotland having defeated Haco King of Norroway, at the battle of Larges, compelled him, upon a treaty, to restore them to his Crown. The treaty was afterwards ratifyed by the articles of marriage between Margaret Princes of Scotland, and Erick, the sone and successor of Haco, in July 1281, and often confirmed by succeeding kings.

While the Northvegians possessed these Isles they governed them by a deputy, or Viceroy, whom their historians honour with the title of King. The famous Somerled, Thane of Argyle, having marryed the daughter of Olaus, one of these petty kings, he, in his lady's right, became King of the Isles, and his posterity governed them even after they were restored to the Crown of Scotland, in a state of independency, without any disturbance, for several ages thereafter. Nor were they satisfied with their Isles, but extended their authority over all the Highland Continent, and disposed of the property of the lands att their pleasure. They had their ordinarey residence att the Castle of Ardtornish in Morvine, where they lived in a state of royalty. For, by reason of the long and bloody wars that followed the death of Alexander the Third, our kings had not lazure to looke after them, and their exorbitant power was at last so confirmed that it would have been no easie matter to reduce them. However, I find that they and the other Highlanders frequently assisted our kings in their wars against England, and performed all the other dutys of faithfull and loyall subjects; nor did they comitt any act of hostility till they were provocked to it by the following act of injustice.

The honours and estate of the antient Earls of Ross having devolved upon Walter Lessly, who marryed the heiress, he had by her one onely sone who succeeded him, and a daughter, who was married to the Lord of the Isles. That sone afterwards tooke a wife, one of the forementioned daughters of Robert Duke of Albany, and Regent of Scotland for K. James I., then a captive in England. By her he had no issue but a deformed girle, who, after her father's death, having shutt herself up in a monastry, resigned the honours and estate of her family in favours of John Earl of Buchan, the Governour's second sone.

This was a manifast injustice done to Donald Lord of the Isles, who, being the sone of Margaret, sister to the last Earl, became, upon the death of his cousine, the undoubted heir of that opulent house ; and he resolved to have by force what he could not obtain by justice.

A war with England, and the rebellion of the Earl of March, favouring his designs, he and his brother John went by sea to the Court of England with 100 horse in their retinue, in 1400,* and entered into a league with Henry the Fourth, which five years thereafter was renewed between them by their Commissioners, as it was again in 1411, when the forces of the South were employed in defending the Borders. The reason why the intended war was so long delayed seems to be, that he waited the death of the heiress his cousine, which probably hapned not long before ; for while the right remained in her person, he had no reason to complean.

But whatever may be in this, he thought it full time now to take possession, and, therefore, having compelled all the neightbouring Clans to list in his service, and among them the forementioned Donald, Chief of the Camerons, he soone found himself at the head of 10,000 resolute men. The people of Ross received him joyfully as their rightfull lord, nor could he have been much blamed had he stopt here, but his views increasing with his success, he pushed forward his conquests till he arrived at the village of Harlaw, within ten miles of the City of Aberdeen, having ravaged the countrey all the way he marched.

But here his progress was stopt by Alexander Stewart, a Prince of the Blood, and Earl of Mar, in right of his lady, who having, by orders of the Governour his uncle, conveened all the nobility and gentrey, betwixt the rivers of Tay and Spey, came suddenly upon him, and engaged in a battle so obstinate, feirce, and bloody, that few such are recorded in historey. Both armys fought while there remained men in either to fight, and the few that escaped the terrible carnage owed their safety to the obscurity of the night, which forced them at last to separate.

The Earl of Mar continued all night on the fatal field, but not so much

* *Fœd. Ang.* Tom. viii. p. 146, *ibid.* 410.

in testimoney of his victorey, as that he was not in a condition to leave it. But Donald retreated to the Highlands with the miserable remains of his shattered troops, and the next year, upon the newes of the great preparations that were makeing by the Governour to invade him by land and sea, he found it his intrest to submitt on such terms as he could obtain.

It is probable, that the compeatition concerning the honours and estate of Ross was by this treaty submitted to K. James I. who was crowned in May 1423. If it was so, he had justice done him, for we find his sone Alexander sitting in quality of Earl of Ross upon the jury of Duke Murdoch, who succeeded his father in the government of Scotland, and of two of his sons, who were all condemned and executed in 1425.

It is no small proofe of the power and grandure of that great Lord, that the Kings of France and England speake of him in a style suitable only to soveraign dignety; for he is mentioned in several treatys as ally to both. The first no doubt doeing him that honour as a powerfull subject of Scotland, and the other as his antient ally when at varieance with it. But the government recovering vigour under the wise administration of James the First, he was much humbled and reduced by that active and brave Prince in 1427, and sent to Perth, where, though he was tryed and convicted of several crymes, yet the good King pardoned and dismissed him upon promise of beheaving himself as a loyal subject in time comeing.

But power is always fatal to the repose of such as consult their passions more than their reason; the proud Earl soon forgot the favour, but remembered the indignity that he imagined was putt upon him, and no sooner returned home than he meditated revenge. Having employed the following year in preparing to execute his designs, he fell down upon the town of Inverness with an army that all authors agree exceeded 10,000 men, and reduceing it to ashes, invested the castle, where he was first arrested. But his Majesty quickly conveened an army, and marched against him in person.

1428. Donald, Chief of the Clan Cameron, was obliged, with most of the other Clans, to attend the Earl in this expeadition. He had lost many of his men att the battle of Harlaw, bnt being fully satisfied of the jus-

tice of that cause, he did not think that he had done any wrong; for, if the Governour's sone unjustly detained the Earldome of Ross by force, the Earl had a more plausible title to recover it by the same means, seeing he could not obtain justice by the ordinary course of law. But the present irruption he looked upon as a downright rebellion; and, therefore, though he was compelled to joyn the resenting Earl in these unlawfull measures, yet he resolved to take the first opportunity that offered of doeing his duty; and, pursuant to that resolution,* he deserted the Earl and joyned the royall army, as soon as he could doe it with safety. The Macintoshes did the same, and the consequence was, that the Earl, finding himself too weak after so great a defection, fled first into Lochaber, and then to the Isles.

The King resolved to follow his advantage, and commanded a fleet to be prepared; but the Earl was so terrifyed with the noise of the preparations that were making against him, that he putt himself in his Majesty's mercy, and was committed to the Castle of Tantallan, from which he was soon thereafter released at the Queen's desire, who earnestly interceded for him.

Though the Camerons and Macintoshes agreed in their principles of loyalty, yet their former quarrell about the estate divided them as much as ever, and brought them to ane engadgement on Palm Sunday, which was fought with that obstinacey and furry, that most of the Macintoshes, and almost the whole tribe of the Camerons, were cutt to peices.†

In the meantime, the news of the Earl of Ross his confinement reaching the Isles, Donald Ballach, his first cousine, whom he had left governour in his absence, resented it as such an indignity putt upon the family, that, in the wildness of his furry, he broke out of his Isles upon the Continent at the head of a considerable army, and spread ruine and desolation through all the neightbouring countreys.

The Earl of Mar, the same brave General who commanded att

* Duæ Tribus Clan Chattan et Clan Cameron Alexandrum Insularum reliquerunt et partes Regis probe sequuti sunt. Joan. Major, Hist. lib. 6, cap. xii.

† 16*th Oct.* 1430.—"Catanei et Cameronii qui superioribus annis Alexandrum deseruerunt, orto, inter ipsos, dissidio, tanta contentione animorum et virium pugnarunt ut multis Cataneorum trucidatis, Cameronii pene omnes extincti fuerunt." Buchanan, lib. x.

Harlaw, and the Earl of Caithness, were sent with an army to suppress him; and having encampt at Inverlochy, were obliged to detatch several partys to bring in provisions, which occasioned the miscarriage of their enterprize. For Donald having intelligence of the absence of so many of their troops, embarked his men in long boats, which he had provided for the purpose, and landing them in the night, surprized and defeated them with a horrible slaughter. The Earl of Caithness was killed, and the Earl of Mar obliged to safe his life by a speedy retreat.

Having now no enemy to oppose him, he turned his fury against the Camerons, and wasted all Lochaber with fire and sword. Donald their Chief drew all this mischief upon him and his Clan for doeing their duty.

The reader has already heard how he deserted the Earl of Ross, and joyned the King att Inverness. To this he added a fresh cause of resentment; for he not only positivly refused to assist in the present rebellion, but he openly declaired for the King, and was drawing his men together in order to join his generals, when they were unhapily defeated, as I have said.

This double defection enraged the victorious Ballach to such a degree of fury, that he came to a resolution of extirpating the whole Clan, but they wisely gave way, and retreated to the mountains, till the storm blew over. Donald their Chief was obliged to take shelter in Ireland, though some say that he went not thither till some time thereafter that he was condemned to banishment, by an unjust decree of the Earl of Ross, and the Counceil or Parliament, as some people affect to call it.

But Ballach had little reason to boast of his rebellion and barbarity. For the King marching in person to the Highlands, his men deserted him, and he himself was obliged to fly into Ireland, where his head was cutt off, and sent to his Majesty by one Odo, with whom he resided. No less than 300 of his crewel emissarys were afterwards seized, and hanged upon gibbetts, which effectually putt an end to the rebellion.

Donald, Chief of the Camerons, was soon recalled from Ireland by the groans of the people, who were crewelly oppressed and plundered by a robber from the north, called Hector Bui M'Coan, who, with a party

of ruffians, tooke the opportunity of his absence to infest the countrey. Being joyned by a sufficient party of his clan, he pursued the robbers, who fled upon the news of his arival, and overtook them at the head of Lochness. But Hector with his prisoners, for he had taken many, and among them Samuel Cameron of Gleneviss, head of an antient tribe of that clan, escaped him by takeing sanctuary in a strong house called Castle Spiriten, where he barbarously murdered them. In revenge of their death, Donald caused two of Hector's sons, with others of their gang who had falen into his hands, to be hanged in view of the father, a wretch so excessively savage, that he refused to deliver them by way of exchainge, though earnestly pressed to it.

But Donald had more powerfull enemies to dale with, for the Earl of Ross had forfeited him of his estate, and that part of it called Locheill he bestowed upon John Maclean, sirnamed Garbh, from his gigantick size. He was one of the younger sons of Lachlan, third Laird of Maclean, who, in name of patrimoney, gave him the Isleand of Coll, which his posterity still possesses. Ewen, the sone of this John, tooke the opportunity of Donald's absence to possess himself of the estate, and from thence had the sirname of Abrach. But he enjoyed it not long, for he lost it with his life in an action near Corpach, where Donald, becomeing master of the charters he had from the Earl of Ross, destroyed them, and chaced all his followers out of Lochaber.

Donald's next bussiness was with the Macintoshes. Alexander, then Chief of that clan, had not only reconciled himself with the Earl, but so far insinuated himself into his favours, that he obtained from him a charter to the disputed lands of Glenlui and Locharkicke, and some time thereafter procured a grant of the Stewartry and Bailliarey of all Lochaber. In a word, he tooke possession of the estate, which occasioned many feirce skirmises, and the issue was, that the Macintoshes were in the end obliged to retire into their own countrey. The rest of his estate, which had been likewaise given away, he sone recovered, and possessed in peace during his life.

In his time flourished the famous John Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, a gentleman of great learning, and a profound statesman. He was

Chancelour of Scotland, and first minister to King James the First. Some will have him to be brother, and others first cousine, to the chief. The offices of honour and trust that his wise and learned soveraigne was pleased to confer upon him, are sufficient testimoneys of his genius and charracter. For, as he was a Prince of the greatest abilitys of any in that age, so he directed all his views to the civilizeing of his countrey, and to the improvement of religion, learning, and arts; and as he was a great judge of men, he employed non but such as answered his ends of government. All this, though there were no other documents extant, as indeed there are many, makes it surprizing that Buchanan, the most polite and elegant of all modern writters, should brand this prelate with a charracter the most vicious and odious that ever stained the mitre. He calls him a wretch so abandoned to his insatiable avarice, that he oppressed and pillaged his tenants and vassalls by all the barbarous wayes of injustice and extortion; and adds, that the Divine vengeance overtooke him in a manner fitter to be repeated by John Knox and his disciples, than by a historian of his rank and charracter. However, I have inserted his own words at the foot hereof, and shall now proceed to give a more authentick account of his life.* (Here ane account of B. Cameron is to be inserted.†)

* "In tam perturbato regni statu, idem, qui in cæteros vulgatus erat morbus, Ecclesiasticum ordinem suo contagio affecit. Joannes Cameronus Glascuæ Episcopus, in suæ ditionis (quæ in primis ampla est) agricolas, multa crudelitatis et avaritiæ exempla ipse ediderat; multa per eos, quorum in manu summa rerum erat prodenda curaverat: ut dominis iniquo judicio circumventis bona ad eum redirent, omniumque, quæ populariter ficbant, malorum aut auctor aut fautor credibatur. Ejus viri dignum vita nefarie acta fuisse tradunt exitium. Pridie natalem Christi cum in villa quadam sua, ad septem millia passuum a Glascua distante, quiesceret, vocem ingentem audire visus, se ad tribunal Christi, ut causam diceret, vocantis. Ex ea repentina perturbatione somno excussus famulos excitat, illatoque lumine assidere jubet. Ipse, libro in manum sumpto cum legere occæpisset, eadem iterum audita vox omnium animos stupore defixit. Deinde cum longe vehementius atque horribilius insonuisset. Episcopus, ingenti gemitu edito lingua exserta, mortuus in lectulo est inventus. Hoc tam perspicuum divinæ ultionis exemplum, ut neque temere affirmare nec refellere est animus; ita cum ab aliis sit proditum, et constanti rumore pervulgatum, omittere visum non est." Buchanan, lib. xi.

† The words within the parenthesis are written on the margin of Sir Duncan Cameron's MS., and in the same hand; but the account itself is not to be found in any of the MSS. to which the Editor has had access.—*Edit.*

VII. EWEN M'COILDUY.

But to return to the Chief. He was succeeded by his sone Ewen, who was no wayes inferior to his father in militarey conduct; he had frequent skirmishes with the Macintoshes, and defeated them in a considerable action at a place called Craigiarlich, in the Brea of Badenoch, where Lachlan, one of the laird's brothers, was mortally wounded, and Malcolm, another of them, and Angus, their near relation, were killed, besides many others. This Ewen lived but a few years, and had Donald, his brother, for his successor. 1441.

VIII. DONALD DOW M'EWEN.

The first bussiness of consequence he sett about was to make his peace with the Earl of Ross, and having succeeded in this to his mind, he attended that great lord at the head of his Clan to the seige of Roxburgh, which was then invested by King James the Second. The Earle had, in 1456, brock out into a new rebellion, and was in the issue, upon his submission, forfeited of a part of the Earldom of Ross, which was annexed to the Crown. But now, to testify his loyalty, and to expiat former crimes, he marched at the head of a very considerable body of resolute men, and joyned his Majesty, who was exceedingly pleased to see his army increased by so powerfull a reinforcement. He was in trewth the greatest subject in the kingdom, and had all the Isles, and the greatest part of the Highlands, at his devotion, or commanded them by his power. The King employed him in several expeaditions into England, from which he brought plenty of provisions for the army; and the more effectually to insinuate himself into his Majesty's favour, he offered, in the general invasion, which the King had resolved to make after finishing the seige into the enemy's countrey, to march a whole mile before the royall army, and to bear the first shoke of the English valour. But the King's sudden death putt an end to that, and to all his other designs, for he was some dayes thereafter* killed by the splinter of a cannon, which some say he ordered to

* 3d August 1460.

be fired for the joy of the brave Earl of Huntly's arrivall, for whom his Majesty had justly the greatest esteem. However, the seige was continued, and the town reduced by the masculine Queen, who came immediatly with the young King in her arms to encourage the army.

Non beheaved more gallantly in this service than the Earl of Ross and his followers, and it had been happy for him that he had continued to act thereafter as much in his duty. In the forementioned Historey of the Family of Macintosh, there is a remarcable instance of the sovereigne authority he had over his vassalls, which, though somewhat forreign to my subject, I cannot omitt. It is in an Indenture of Association and Friendship between the Lord Forbess and Duncan Laird of Macintosh, where the former makes this exception :—" The said Lord Forbess and his party keepand yr alleageance to our Sovereign Lord the King;" and the latter, on the contrarey, makes thus—" and the said Duncan, &c., keepand their alleagance to the Earl of Ross," without any mention of the King. By which it appears that he acknowledged no other authority but that of the Earl.

IX. ALLAN M'COILDUY.

To Donald succeeded Allan, sirnamed M'Coilduy, from his father's dark complexion. This patronimick is still retained by his posterity, as I have formerly observed, though, for distinguishing them, they are severally distinguished by their fathers after the manner of the Græcians, and other antient people, who observed the same custome. This custome, in the reign of the famous Malcolm Kenmore, and for severall ages thereafter, prevailed through all parts of the kingdome, as it generally did in all other countreys that were originally peopled by the Celts or Gauls. " Sunt qui tradunt tum primum cæptum, ut nobiliores, ab agris cognomina sumerent, quod quidem falsum puto cum ea consuetudo ne nunc quidem apud priscos Scotos sit recepta. Tota tum Scotia prisco sermone et institutis uteritur. Loco vero cognominis more Græcorum, patris nomen proprio subjeciebant ut ex eventu aliquo notave corporis aut animi, vocabulum affingebant. Eademq. tum fuisse

morem Gallis indicant illa Regia nomina Crassi, Calvi, Balbi: Item multarum nobilium in Anglia familiarum cognomina. Eorum maxime qui circa eadem hæc tempora Gulielmum Normanum secuti, in Anglia sedes posuerunt, apud reliquos etiam Gallos sero mos cognomina ab agris dicend. receptus videtur, ut ex Froissardi scriptoris minime contemnendo, historia intelligi potest."

For the Highlanders did not till of late years take their designations or titles from their estats, but, in their primative simplicity, satisfied themselves with their father's names, instead of all other designation or sirname. Some, it is true, were nicknamed from the complection or collour of their hair; but these were but few, and besides, they added to it the name of their father, and sometimes of their grandfather, the reason being, that it was impossible, where so maney of the same tribe and name lived together, without any mixture, to distinguish them in any other manner. The chief was, among his own clan, called, by way of eminencey, by the title of Dtiurn, that is, Lord, though we falsely translate it Laird, which is the same with Esquire in England. But, among others, they were named by the general patronimick of the family; and, in charters and other wryts, they were designed Captains of their severall clans, as the reader will soone have a better opportunity of observing.

But to return to Allan M'Coilduy. His wife was Marion, daughter to Angus,* Lord of the Isles, and grandchield to the Earl of Ross, by whom he was made heritable governour or constable of the Castle of Strone, a very strong place in the Earldome of Ross. In this charge he beheaved so well, that, in reward of his courage and fidelity, Celestine, the lady's uncle, who designs himself of the Isles, Lord of Lochalie, and brother to the Earl of Ross, added to it a grant† of the 12^{oo} merk

* This Angus was eldest sone to the Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles, having been the title of the person next in succession.

† The charter is granted to his beloved kinsman, Allan, the sone of Donald Duff, or Dow, Captain of the Clan Cameron, and to the heirs-male lawfully begotten, or to be begotten, between him and Marion, lawfull daughter to Angus, Lord of the Isles, and, in default of these, to his other heirs-male by any subsequent marriage, and these failzieing, to the heirs-male of Ewen, his brother-german; and if these

land of Kifrone, and gave him a patent or charter, bearing date att Inverlochy, the penult day of Novemb. 1472.

It would seem that the castle and lands annexed to it were a part of the patrimonial estate of this Celestine, otherwayes it is inconceivable how he could alienat them without consent of his brother.

This Allan M'Coilduy had the charracter of one of the bravest captains in his time, which was chiefly the reason of his being so great a favourite of the great Lord I have just now mentioned. He is said to have made 32 expeaditions into his enemy's countrey for the 32 years that he lived, and three more, for the three-fourths of a year that he was in his mother's womb: whatever trewth may be in this, it is certain that his good fortune failed him in the end. For, being too much elated with his former successes, he again made preparations for another invasion; of which his next neighbour, Keppoch,* (who, for I know not what reason, had conceived an enmity against Allan,) having information, he advised Macintosh of the designe, and promiseing to follow him in the rear with all the men he could raise, formed a plott for cutting him and his party to pices. Allan had no notice of the contrivance, and dispiseing an enemy which he had so often insulted, proceeded in his intended invasion. Macintosh was prepared to oppose him, but artefully delayed engageing, till Keppoch came up and attacked him in the rear. In short, the Camerons were obliged, after an obstinate fight, and the death of their Chief, who was killed during the heat of the action, to give way, in their turn, to the superior numbers of the confederats.

Allan, by the lady I have mentioned, had two sons and three daughters.

should also happen to faile, the Castle and estate were, by a provisionary clause, to return to the granter and his heirs. The onerous cause or reason inductive of the grant, was for the foresaid Allan his faithfull defending and keeping of the said Castle of Strone, and the witnesses were Lachlan M'Lean of Doward, Ewen, the sone of Donald of Argaur, &c. This charter, with these following, is recorded in the publick registers, and the originals of some, and the extracts of others, are in Locheil's charter-chest.

* Keppoch, so designed from an estate he has of that name, commands a tribe of the M'Donalds in that part of Lochaber bordering upon Badenoch, called the Breas. He is said to be descended from John de Insulis, who married a daughter of K. Robert the Second, and is tenant to Macintosh for ane estate which he and his predecessors have long possessed in these parts.

Of the youngest of these sons, named John, is the Family of Callaurd, now a considerable tribe of the Camerons, descended.

The confusions that happned during the minority of James the Third, having encouraged John the last Earl of Ross to breck out into a new rebellion, he was in the issue, by his own consent, and the authority of Parliament, which mett in Jully thereafter, deprived of the Earldom of Ross, which was annexed to the Crown, but continued in the title and possession of Lord of the Isles, and of a great many other lands mentioned in a charter still extant, dated att Edinburgh, the 16th December 1478. 1476.

X. EWEN M'ALLAN, 2d.

After the death of Allan, Ewen, his sone, sirnamed from him M'Allan, tooke possession of his estate and command. He proved equall to any of his predecessors in the vigour of his mind and body. But though in order to facilitate the adjusting matters with Macintosh, he marryed Marjory, daughter to Duncan, then Chief of that name, yet all his endeavours to bring about an agreement proveing ineffectuall, the war brock out with more fury than before. Many and bloody were the conflicts between them, and great actions are related on both partys. But the Camerons, being commanded by a Chief who had the advantage of all his neightbours in conduct and spirit, it is no wonder if they proved generally too hard for their enemys.

But notwithstanding of these continuall wars, Ewen had prudence enough not to neglect the improvement of his fortune. He continued in friendship with the great Lord of the Isles, to whom he was nearly related by his mother, and thereby considerably augmented his estate; for he obtained from him a charter* of several lands in Lochalce, Lochcarion, and Strone, lying in that part of the Earldome of Ross which was excepted from the forfeiture, and restored by the charter I have already mentioned. In August following, Ewen procured another patent or charter of the

* This charter is of certain hereditarey lands, as they are termed in the charter, extending to a 14 merk land of old extent, whereof the particulars would be too tedious to enumerate.

lands of Locheill,* which was a part of the lordship of Lochaber, and then lay within the shyre of Inverness.

It is probable, that antiently the Highland Chiefs had no other title to their estats but possession, and that the Lords of the Isles haveing by degrees made themselves masters of the whole, obliged them to hold their lands either as tenants or vassalls to them. And this seems to be the reason, that though it is certain that the most antient familys in the kingdome are those of the Highland Chiefs; yet there are but very few charters of any considerable antiquity to be mett with among them. But whatever may be in this conjecture, the family I am wryting of can produce non older than those I have mentioned, whereby it is now impossible to discover what the extent of their estate formerly was. However, the death of this Alexander, who was the last Lord of the Isles,† sett them all att liberty, and obliged them, pursuant to a late act of Parliament, either to take out new charters to their estats, or to gett the old confirmed by the Crown, under no less a penalty than that of forfeiting them.

Ewen M'Allan, who was a wise and vigelent Chief, did not neglect his intrest, but immediatly sett out on a journey to Court, which was then att Edinburgh, and procured from King James the Fourth a confirmation of all these charters on the 24th October 1495, in presence of all the great Officers of the Crown, and of many other noble Lords, spirituall and temporall, who are all designed witnesses to it. Having, on this occasion, continued some time att Court, he insinuated himself much into the favour of that generous Prince, and served him faithfully in all his wars, and particularly att the fatall battle of Flowdon, where his Majesty and the flower of the Scots nobility and gentrey were killed, and among them the brave Hector Maclean of Doward, with many of his Clan, September 9, 1513. An excess of bravery in the Highlanders,

* Of the 30 merk land of Locheill, and is dated in the Isleand of Kie, otherwaise called Icolmkill. They are both of the same tenour, and are given to our dear kinsman, Ewen, the sone of Allan, the sone of Donald, Captain of the Clan Cameron, and the onerous causes are for service, &c. performed, and to be performed; and both these charters are granted by Alexander, Lord of the Isles, and of Lochaber.

† *N.B.*—Locheill by his mother was heir of line to that great house, and his successors carryed their arms quartered with their own till of late.

if we may believe our historians, contributed not a little to the disorder of the Scots army. For the Earl of Huntly, who conducted the forces of the North, having defeated Sir Edmund Howard and 3000 men under his command, it raised an unwarry emulation in the Highlanders, who, having the Earles of Lennox and Argyll att their head, thought nothing impossible for them to effect, and therefore, without regaird to order or dissipline, brocke furiously in upon a strong and well formed body of the enemy, who stood their ground like old soldiers as they were, till Sir Edward Stanely fell down, from a hill which he had traversed, upon the backs of them, and cutt great numbers of them to peices.

However, Ewen M'Allan had the good fortune to come off safe, though with the loss of some of his Clan, and in the disturbances that followed, in the minority of James the Fifth, assisted John Duke of Albany, Governour of the kingdom, as he did afterwards the King himself in all his wars, domestick and forreign, whereby he grew so much in favour att Court, that for his good and faithfull services to the Crown, as the charter has it, he procured his whole estate, which lay much dispersed, to be united into a free barroney, with many ample priveledges, called the Barroney of Locheill. The village of Banavii is declaired the principall messuage, as the terme is, that is, the place for takeing infeftment, and the few-duty or the revenue payable yearly to the Crown is the same that he and his predecessors used formerly to pay. This charter bears date January 9, 1521.

This is the first time that I find any of the Chiefs of this family designed by the title of Locheill in a charter, their former designation being Captain of the Clan Cameron, without mention of their estate. Locheill (for so I shall afterwards call them) was personaly present when he obtained this new erection, as appears from the charter, and had afterwards the address so to mannage his intrest at Court, that his Majesty was pleased to compliment him with another very considerable estate.* And the contents of the patent or charter is a lasting proofe

* The lands in this charter are those of Inverlochy, Turlyady, Drumflowr, Auchentouerbeg, extending to a 13 merk land of old extent, as also the lands of Invergarry, Balnant, Lagan, and Achadrome extending to a 12 merk land of old extent, lying within the lordship of Lochaber, and sherriffdome of In-

of the wise policy of that excellent Prince ; for, resolveing at once to improve the revenue of the Crown and policy of the kingdome, he joyned with his Parliament in annexing all the lands that antiently belonged to it to his own patrimoney. The wars with England, and the long minoritys of preceeding Kings, having affoarded the Lords of the Isles ane opportunity of usurping these in the Highlands, his father, K. James IV., obliged all those who possessed, by charters from these Lords, to confirm them, and to take their lands holden of the Crown, and this wise Prince bestowed the rest upon such of his subjects as had best merited of him by their services, but with an augmentation of the few-dutys, and under condition that they improved them in the manner mentioned in the foregoing charter, whereby he not only increased the royall revenue, but also exceedingly beautifyed and enritched his countrey.

Locheill finding the advantage of being known and favoured at Court, was carefull to bestow a liberal education on his children, but especially on his eldest sone Donald, who, being a youth of pregnant parts, came soone to have a relish for the elegancys and politnes of life. His father's estate was such as enabled him to live in a rank equall to any of the young chiefs, his cotemporarys, and his own behaviour soon gott him a charracter among the courtiours. But the person with whom he contracted the most intimatt friendship was George the fourth Earl of Huntly. This Lord was then a young man, in so great a reputation att Court, that his Majesty honoured him with the government of the kingdome, during a voyage of gallantry that he made to the French Court in August 1535, in order to mary Magdalen, the eldest daughter of France, to whom he had been formerly betrothed. So much was Donald in favour with that Earl, that he complimented him with a valuable estate conterminous with his own, and lying eastward of the lake and river of Lochy. The charter is given by George Earl of Huntly to the Honourable Donald Cameron, sone and heir apparent to Ewen Cameron, *alias* Allanson, of Locheill, of the lands of Letterfinlay, Stronabaw, and Lyndaly, lying

verness. The few-duty was 40 merks yearly, and the obtainer was, by the redendo of his charter, obliged to build a good dwelling-house, with a hall, kitchine, office-houses, pigeon-house, orchard, garden incloseurs, and other policys, agreeable to the nature of the ground.

within the lordship of Lochaber, and sherriffdome of Inverness.* The holding is blench, and bears date att Edinburgh, 16th February 1534. This young gentleman was married to a daughter of the Laird of Grant's,† by whom he had two sons, Ewen and Donald, who both afterwards succeeded to the estate.

Besides the other wars wherein Locheill was engaged, he had also a ruffle with the Barron of Rea, Chief of the Mackays, a people living many miles north of Lochaber. What the quarrall was, I know not, but it drew on an invasion from the Camerons, and that ane engagement, wherein the Mackays were defeated, and the Laird of Foules, Chief of the Monros, who assisted them, killed upon the spot.

Hitherto Locheill had success in all his attemps. The vigour of his genius and courage bore him through all his difficultys. He had a flourishing family and an opulent fortune, but the death of his eldest sone Donald, which happned about this time, plunged him into so deep a melancholey, that he, on a sudden, resolved to give up the world, and apply himself to the works of religion and peace. To expiat for former crims, he sett out on a pilgramage to Rome; but arriveing in Holland, he found himself unable to bear up against the fatigue of so long a journey, and, therefore, sent one M'Phaill, a priest, who was his chaplain and confessor, to doe that job for him with the Pope. One part of the penance enjoyned him by his Holiness was to build six chappells to as many saints, which he performed. Some of them are still extant, and the ruins of the rest are yet to be seen in Lochaber and the bordering countreys. He also built a castle on the banks of the river of Lochey, called Tore Castle, from the rock on which it was situated. Macintosh afterwards designed himself by this castle, because it was built upon the

* Locheill was formerly possessed of the estate of Knoidart, in the shyre of Argyle, and of the 10 merk land of Gleneveiss in Lochaber, with the estate of Mammore, in the same countrey, as appears by the writes of the family.

Whereby that family had, besides the other estats I have mentioned, the possession of all Lochaber, except a small part of the borders of it possessed by Keppoch.

† This family had its origionall about the year 1300. The first laird was Patrick, the sone of Grigor, whose only daughter and heir was married to Andrew Stewart, of whom the name of Grant is said to be descended. It is now a powerfull family, and very opulent.

grounds in dispute. However, it became the seat of the family of Locheill, till it was demolished by Sir Ewen Cameron, with a view of building a more convenient house.

While Locheill was thus peaceably employed, there fell out ane accident, which, though he was not concerned in it, gave occasion to the disgust that the Earl of Huntly then conceived against him, [which] in the end coast him his life. The origional of it is said to be thus :

The Laird of Moydart, commonly called the Captain of Clanronald, Chief of a tribe of the Macdonalds, having marryed a daughter of the Lord Lovate, an antient Barron, and Chief of the sirname of Fraser, had by her a sone, and afterwards taking some disgust at the lady, he turned her off, and tooke to wife a daughter of Maclean of Doward, whom he stole from her father.

Lovate resenting the indignety putt upon his daughter, tooke care of her and her sone ; and when the young gentleman was come to age, resolved upon the death of his father, to have him putt in possession of the estate, as his lawful heir. The Earl of Huntly was then Lord Lieutenant, and in a manner sovereign of the north. To him the Lord Lovate made his complaint, and prevailed with him to march in person att the head of a considerable body of troops into those parts, to see that peice of justice done. Huntly was excessively proud and ambitious, and made use of his great power to compell all the neightbouring Chiefs into a dependance upon him, either as vassalls or followers. Locheill chanceing to waite upon him by way of compliment in his march, and excuseing himself for not attending him as her Majesty's Lieutenant in that expeadition, as well on account of his age as of the friendship he had for both partys, the Earl was highly offended, and resolved with himself to take the first opportunity that offered to ruin him. However, he then politicaly dissembled his resentment, and marched forward.

Clanrannald in the meantime prepared for his defence, but, finding himself unable to resist so great a power, he wisely gave way to the torrent, and submitted upon terms. But no sooner was Huntly gone, than he dispossessed the young gentleman ; and hearing that Lovate had separated from the main body, and marched home by himself, he

pursued, and overtooke him at the end of Loch Lochay, near Lagan-Achadrome, where the partys engaged with that fury, that Lovate, his sone, and almost all his clan, were cutt to pices, and very few of the other side survived.

Some authors alleage that Huntly had privatly encouraged the Macdonalds to commit this outrage, in resentment of Lovate's refuseing to join him in his quarrells against the Earl of Argyll; for, after the deathe of Alexander, last Lord of the Isles, whom we have formerly mentioned, the Macdonalds, who were united under him as their Chief, could not agree among themselves with respect to a successor; but the heads of their several tribs sett up separatly for themselves, whereby their power being brocke, the House of Argyll grew great upon their ruins, and endeavoured to worm themselves by degrees into the command of the West, as that of Huntly did of the North.

From the same cause did Huntly's resentment against Locheill, who always favoured Argyll, proceed. But William, Laird of Macintosh, was more obsequious, and attended him in the forementioned expeadition. He was a gentleman of very fine qualitys, and much distinguished for his spirit and politeness.

The change of Locheill's conduct, and religious manner of living, made him imagine that he had now a proper opportunity of revengeing the many affronts formerly putt upon his father, and thereafter upon his tutors, during his own minority; but also of ending the war, by forceing him to submitt to such terms as should be proposed. He was then Huntly's Deputy-Lieutenant, and Justiciar for Inverness and the southern part of that shyre, which affoarding him a pretext for raising what number of men he pleased, he marched into Lochaber at the head of about 2000 men, but with such privacey and expeadition, that he thought to have surprized Locheill before he could be in a condition to oppose him; but in this he was mistaken, for he found his antagonist, old and religious as he was, prepared to dispute their difference by the sword.

But neither party being much inclined to fight, they, in their present humour, agreed to a treaty, and because they could not settle upon the conditions, they choise to submitt them to Huntly as a dissinterested

mediator. That crafty Earl had so artfully desembled his resentment, that Locheill sincerly belived him to be much his friend, and made no scruple of waiting upon him on this occasion. But his credulity coast him his life, for the revengefull Earl no sooner had him in his power, than he ordered him to be confined, patch't up a kind of sham tryall against him, for I know not what pretended crims, and commanded his head [to be cutt off] at a place called the Bogue of Geight.

Thus dyed Ewen M'Allan, a Chief of the greatest abilitys of any in his time. He is still famous in these parts for his courage and military conduct; for the greatest part of his life was employed in warlick adventures, either in the service of the Crown, or in his own private quarrells. However, he was so far from neglecting the government and policy of his countrey, that his people increased in numbers and ritches, as his estate did in value and extent. In a word, he omitted no opportunity of serving the intrest of his family; and in this was much wiser than any of his predecessors, that he was carefull to secure his large and extensive possessions to his posterity by authentick charters, whereof I have recited all those I have found extant.

If Macintosh was in concert with Huntly, to bring him to the tragical end I have mentioned, the Camerons were, some years thereafter, fully revenged on both. But the charracter we have of this Macintosh inclines me to believe him innocent, and that the unhappy fate he mett with proceeded from the very same cause that brought on the tragedie of his rivall chief; for the haughty and ambitious Earl having gott him in his power, murdered him in the very same manner, 23d August 1550; and Buchanan affirms that the crime was, that he had refused to submitt himself and his family to the servitude of dependancey and vassalage to the Earl; though that others alleaged that Macintosh had entered into a plott for takeing away the life of that Lord.

1557. Some years thereafter the Earl was brought to a tryall for these murders, and for his conduct with respect to Clanronald. The Earl of Cassells, then Lord Treasurer, and uncle to the late Macintosh, was the prosecuter, and the issue was, that he was keept under closs confinement till he divested himself of the Earldome of Murray and Lordship of

Abernethey, whereof he had lately procured a gift from the Crown, and of the customs of Orkney, Shetland, Mar, and Strathdee, and of all his offices, governments, and jurisdictions. Besides, he was banished for five years, but this last part of his sentance was changed into a pecuneary mulct. Many in the Counceill were inclined to have putt him to death, but the government was then in such a crazy state, and the kingdom so divided between the French and English factions, and by the chainge of religion, that it was not thought safe to give the enemys to the publick peace such an accession of strength as the relations, vassalls, and friends of this powerfull Earl would naturally bring them. But neither the danger of life, nor the great loss he sustained, were sufficient to moderat his excessive ambition, which at length brought him to that death which he had just now escaped, as shall be hereafter observed.*

XI. EWEN M'CONNELL.

Ewen M'Allan had four sons, whereof three survived him, and was succeeded by Ewen, his grandchield by his eldest sone. Of him I find nothing memorable, but his unfortunate death ; for being in his younger years much enamoured of a daughter of the Laird of Macdonald, [M'Dougall,†] he found the young lady so complisant that she fell with chield by him. The father dissembled his resentment, and artfully drew Locheill to a communing in the Island Nacloich, where, having previously concealled a party of men, he made him prisoner upon his refuseing to marry her, and shutt him up in the Castle of Inch-Connel, in Lochow, a fresh-water lake, at a good distance from Lochaber, to which his friends could not have easie access, on account of the difficulty of provideing themselves with boats.

As soon as the newes came to Lochaber, his clan resolved to hazard all for his relief, and having made necessary preparations, his foster-

* Earl of Arran demitted his Regency, Aprill 1555.

† This was a powerfull family in the days of John Baliol, their ancestor, John Argyle of Lorne, having maryed the sister of Cumming, Earl of Athol, did, on that account, party the English faction, and vigurously opposed the immortall K. Robert Bruee, whereby he ruined himself and his posterity. However, they still bear out the figure of gentlemen, and are much respected in their own countrey.

father,* Martine M'Connochey of Lattir Finlay, chieftain of the M'Martins, an antient and numerous tribe of the Camerons, putt himself at the head of a chosen party, and sone made himself master of the castle. Locheill was then playing att cards with his keeper or governour, named M'Arthure, and was so overjoyed at his approaching delivery, that observing him much allarmed at the noise made by the assaliants, he overheastily discovered the designe, for which he payed dear. For the villan, to satisfie his own and his master's resentment, immediatly extinguished the lights, and thrusting his durk or poynyeard below the table which stood between them, wounded him in the belly.

His deliverers, in the meantime, rushing into his apartment, carryed him to their boats, where, the night being cold, he called for an oar in order to heat himself by exercise. But upon streatching his body, he became first sensible of his wound, which soone thereafter proved mortall.

His party having landed, and putt him to bed, returned to the castle, and, in revenge of his death, dispatched M'Arthure and all the men that were with him.

He left behind him one sone by M'Dougall's daughter, and was succeeded by his brother Donald, who was one of those loyal Chiefs that assisted Q. Mary at the battle of Corrichy, the cause of it was this :—

XII. DONALD DOW M'CONNELL.

Aug. 20, 1561. That lovely Princes having, after the death of Francis II., her husband, returned, found the kingdome in great confusion ; but in order to quiett the minds of her people by her royall presence, she resolved to visite all the parts of it. Her first minister was James, Prior of St Andrews, her naturall brother, on whom she bestowed the Earldome of Murray. But Huntly, from whom that Earldome had been lately taken

* It is an antient custome among the Highland chiefs, and other gentlemen of figure, to comitt the care of their children, as soon as they are weaned, to the principal gentlemen of the clan, and other near relations, who from thence are called foster-fathers. These children commonly remain with them till about 12 years of their age, and often much longer, and are generally so well used, that there arises a friendship between them and the several familys where they are fostered, that equalls that of the nearest relations. They have alwayes portions assigned them in cattle, which amounts to a great value before they are of age.

on the occasion I have mentioned, conceived a deadly enmity against the Prior for accepting it without his consent, and endeavured, by all the wayes of detraction and other courses familiar enough in the Courts of Princes, to ruine his intrest with the Queen. But all these faileing, he made other attemps to destroy him, which otherwaise proved abortive. The Queen was often at a loss how to beheave with respect to him; for being head of the Popish faction, he was powerfully protected by the Pope, the Cardinel of Lorain, and the Queen's uncles, the great Duke of Guise and his brother, who not only interceeded for him, but proposed a match between her Majesty and John Gordon, the Earl's second sone, the elder having been already marryed in the House of Hamiltoun.

How her Majesty relished this proposall, is no where said; but the young man being then in disgrace for wounding the Lord Ogilvy in the great street of Edinburgh, had made his escape out of prison, and the Countess his mother, a crafty and ambitious lady, having interceeded for him with the Queen, her Majesty would hear of nothing in his behalf till he again entered his person into waird. But Mr Gordon, instead of giveing obedience, hasted to the North, and gathering about 1000 horse, marched towards Aberdeen, where the Queen then was, with a view of making himself master of her person, imagining that it would not be dissagreeable to her Majesty to be forced into the match, nor are there wanting some that alleage, that Huntly and his sone had private incouragement to proceed as they did in order to free her Majesty from the government of her naturall brother the Earl of Murray, whom, as those authours give out, she already began to hate. A.D. 1562.

But, be this as it will, it is certain that the Queen appeared much offended att their insolence, but dissembling her resentment, she proceeded to Inverness, where, designeing to lodge in the Castle, was denyed access by Alexander Gordon the Governour. The next morning her Majesty was joyned by many of the neightbouring clans, who flocked to her relief from all quarters, upon a rumour that she was in danger, and even Huntly was deserted by his followers as soon as they had any suspition of his designs; with these the Castle being quickly reduced, the Governour was hanged for his insolence and rebellion. Sept. 1562. Dec. 20, ——

Locheill, who was at a great distance, could not come up so soon as the rest, but arrived before the battle of Corrichy, which happned a
Dec. 28, 1562. few days thereafter. For the Queen being now sufficiently strong, returned to Aberdeen, and Huntly, blinded by his ambition and his extream hatred to the Earl of Murray, was mad enough to prosecute his designs, though only 300 of his followers stuck by him. In a word, he was defeated, his party cutt to peices, himself being old and corpulent, taken and stiffled to death by the weight of his armour, and the crowd that pressed about him. His sone, John Gordon, being likewayes made prisoner, was condemned and beheaded next day att Aberdeen, to the great grief of many of the spectators, for he was a very hansome youth of a gracefull deportment, and had given several proofs of his conduct and courage.

In Januwary following, George, now Earl of Huntly, was convicted and forfeited in parliament. By the laws of Scotland, the vassalls forfeited with the supperiors, which gave Locheill some uneasieness on account of the estate which his father had obtained from the late Earl, lying eastward of the lake and river of Lochey before mentioned. But the Queen upon application was pleased to restore that estate as a reward due to his loyalty, and to his faithfull services on that and other occasions. The
March 6, 1563. charter, however, differed in this from the former, that the tenour, which was blench few before, was now chainged into a waird; but enobled with all the immunitys and priviledges that the Earl and his predecessors formerly enjoyed.

His lady was daughter to the Laird of Maclean, by whom he had a sone named Allan, who was born after his death, and succeeded in his estate and command.

XIII. ALLAN M'CONELL DUIE.

He was, from his cradle to his grave, involved in a continued laberynth of troubles, which proceeded origionaly from the ill conduct and ambition of his tutors, whose views were suspected to extend furder than the simple administration of his affairs, which was all they could pretend to

by their office. These were Donald and John Camerons, two of the younger sones of the famous Ewen M'Allan, grand-uncles to the minor, and the predecessors of the Familys of Errocht and Kenlochiell, now considerable tribes of that clan. In a word, the conduct of these gentlemen were such, that Locheil's nurse, for the safety of his person, conveyed him privatly to Mull, where he remained during his infancey under the tutelage of Lachlan Maclean of Doward his uncle, who thereafter made choise of M'Gilvraw of Glencanner to be his foster-father. With this gentleman he, according to custome, continued till he was fitt for schoole, and the care of his education was intrusted to Mr John Cameron, Minister of Dunune, his kinsman, and a person of great probity and learning, by whom he was trained up in the Protestant Religion, which then began to gett footing in the Highlands. He was father to the great Cameron, who was then the most famous Protestant divine then living.

Though the safety of the young Chief was thus secured, the conduct of the tutors keept all in confusion att home, for they acted more like proprietors than administrators. The rents and revenues of the estate, which was very large, they applyed to their own use, and having formed a faction among the Camerons, whom they corrupted by bribs and offices to an absolute dependence on their intrest, they lorded it over the rest of the Clan with intolerable insolence and cruelty. To make head against them, the opposite faction called home Donald M'Ewan, the bastard sone of him that was killed in the Isle of Lochow. He then lived with the Laird of Grant, a daughter of that house having been his grandmother, and had the reputation of a youth of good sense and spirit. His arrivall in Lochaber occasioned a kind of civil war, whereof Lachlan, then Laird of Macintosh, taking advantage, marched into the country at the head of such a body of men, as the tutors, in their present situation, were unable to resist, and obliged them to submitt to a treaty whereby the estate in dispute was sett to them on lase for a certain number of years, for the yearly payment of 80 merks Scots, an inconsiderable rent. But such, however, as gave Macintosh all the right and title to the estate that they could bestow, or be demanded during the minority of the Chief.

The tutors were sensible enough of the false step they had made, but as necessity had forced them into it, so they resolved to repudiat the contract, by a new invasion into the enemy's countrey, and in order to unite the Clan, they agreed to submitt all differances to the mediation of friends ; this brought about a meeting of the partys att the old Castle of Inverlochy, where Donald the elder brother was barbarously murdered, by which their mutuall resentment and hatred was kindled into greater fury than before. To suppress the other tutor, Donald the bastard had recourse to his grandfather, the Laird of M'Dougall, who prevailed with the Earl of Argyle, Justice-General, to espouse the quarrell. In short, the tutor was seized and beheaded at Dunstaffnage, a very old building, and one of the seats of the antient Scots Kings, before the destruction of the Picts.

In the meantime Locheill, then a youth of about 17 years, being solicited by the heads of the opposite faction, returned to Lochaber, where he was so mannaged and imposed upon by their artifice and cunning, that he gave way to the death of the bastard, whom they accused not only as author of the murder of the tutors, but as guilty of more criminal designs of depriving himself of his life and fortune, upon pretence that he was no bastard, but the sone of a lawfull marriage.

Whatever trewth was in these suggestions, his death was generally resented. Locheill leaving the management of his affairs to some of his nearest relations, gave out that he was to return to his Governour att Dunune, but stopt by the way att Appine,* where he was in love with one of his landlord's daughters, whom he soone thereafter marryed. She was a hansome young lady, and so absolutely gained upon his affections by an excess of beauty, witt, and good nature, that he continued fond of her while she lived.

Choiseing to reside att Appine till matters were fully settled at home, he fell into a missfortune that very near coast him his life.

The Laird of Glenurchy, predecessor to the Earl of Breadalbane,

* Appine is head of a tribe of the Stewarts in that neightbourhood. His predecessor was a natural sone of Stewart, Lord Lorn, a Prince of the Blood Royall, but begott on a lady of distinction. He is head of all the Stewarts of that countrey, who are one way or other descended of his family.

chanceing to hold a Barron Court in that neightbourhood, Locheill went thither to divert himself, and there accidentally meeting with one M'Dougall of Fairlochine, a near relation of the bastard's, he challanged him upon some unmannerly expressions which he had formerly droped against him with relation to that gentleman's death. But M'Dougall, instead of excuseing himself, gave such a rude answer as provocked Locheill to make a blow at him with his sword, and some of the bystanders, willing to prevent the consequences, seized and held him fast, while he made a most violent struggle to get loose, one of his servants happening to come up at the same time, and seeing his master in the hands of so many people, fancyed that he was apprehended by Glenurchy's orders, whom he foolishly suspected to have designs upon his life. This putt the fellow into such a rage, that he had not patience to examine into the matter. But encountering with Archbald, Glenurchy's eldest sone, whom the noise of the bustle had drawn thither in that unlucky juncture, he barbarously plunged his durk into his heart. The multitude upon this turned their swords against the unhappy fellow. But he, with his durk in the one hand, and his sword in the other, defended himself with that incredible valour, that it is likely he would have escaped by the favour of the approaching night, if he had not, as he retreated backward, stumbled upon a pleugh, that tooke him behind, and brought him to the ground, where he was cutt to pices.

No sooner had the inraged multitude dispatched the servant, than they run furiously upon the master, who, though he received several wounds, had the good fortune, after a vigorous and gallant defence, to make his escape, wherein he was much assisted by the darkness of the night, which covered his retreat.

The newes of this and several other adventures made his Clan impatient to have him among them. All their divisions were now at an end, and their Chief was of sufficient age and capacity to mannage his own affairs, so that he was welcomed to Lochaber with universall joy.

In the year 1590, there brock out a dreedfull enmity and fewd between the Earls of Huntly and Murray ; the last was sone to the Regent, whom we have formerly mentioned.

The reader has already heard of the first grounds of dissention between these familys ; and the present quarrell proceeded from Murray's protecting a gentleman of the name of Grant, who had killed one Gordon a common fellow, upon I know not what provocation. To this was added some other causes of dissention which inflamed the ulcerated minds of the partys to such a degree of rage and fury, that they involved all the North in blood and confusion.

Confederaceys were formed on both sides. The Earl of Atholl, the Lairds of Grant and Macintosh, and many others, joyned Murray ; and Huntly had the Earls of Erroll, Mortown, and Bothwell, of his party. But as these rather gave reputation than strength to his party, so he became solicitous to ballance the power of his antagonists, by engageing the neightbouring Clans in that service.

Att first he had publick authority on his side as Sheriff of the County of Inverness. Besides, he had express orders from Court to bring the criminal to justice, so that the Macphersons and others, his vassalls and tenants, willingly declaired in his favours. Both partys courted Locheill by all manner of carresses. But his enmity to Macintosh, the hereditary enemy of his family, soon determined him to joyn Huntly, who was exceedingly liberall of his promises and engagements on that occasion, as appears from the indenture* between them, which is still extant.

Locheill, in pursuance of this confederacy, invaded Macintosh, and ravageing his countrey with fire and sword, returned with a great bootty. Macintosh pursued and engaged him in Badenoch, but was overthrown with a hugh slaughter. Upon the back of this followed another invasion, and the Macintoshes were again defeated in the moor of Drymen, a hill betwixt Badenoch and Lochaber. This last is commonly called the snow fight, on account of the great quantity of snow that then covered the hills.

Huntly resolving to repair the old Castle of Rivan in Badenoch, a

* By this indenture, Locheill obliges himself to assist Huntly against all his enemys ; but more especially against the Macintoshes and Grants ; and the Earl, on his part, is bound to reward him for his services to his own satisfaction, and not to enter into terms of agreement without a mutual consent. It bears date 6th March 1590.

countrey belonging to himself, prevailed with Locheill to guard the work, which occasioned many bloody skirmishes. But the difficultys that the Earl mett with by the enemy's intercepting his convoyes and carriages, obligeing him to desist before he had quite finished his fortifications, Locheill and his Clan attended him on his march homeward as far as Strathdown. For the enemy had convened in great numbers to cutt off his retreat. But Locheill not only dissapointed them, but in his return to Lochaber ravaged the Macintoshes, and carried off a ritch booty.

The death of the Earl of Murray, who was killed by Huntly att Dunibirstle, on the 7th February 1591, gave the enemys of the last so much advantage over him att Court, that he and his adherents were declaired enemys to the state, and forfeited, and proscribed by a decree of Parliament. However, the war still continued, and Huntly, as head of the Popish faction, the better to collour his designs, added the pretext of religion to his former quarrells. In a word, for I designe to touch upon these affairs no further than my subject obliges me, the Earl of Argyll being appointed his Majesty's Leutenant-General in that war, marched against him att the head of a powerfull army, and invested the Castle of Rivan. But the Macphersons, who were in garrison, defended the place with so much bravery, that he could not reduce it, though Argyle was already 10,000 strong, and these too the best troops in the Highlands ; yet the Forbesses, Mackenzies, and many others from the North, being on their march to joyn him. But Huntly, to prevent their conjunction, resolved to fight, though att the disadvantage of near ten to one, if we may believe Archbishop Spottiswood, who gives us the detaill of these transactions. They engaged att Glenlivat, where Argyle was routed with the loss of 700 of his men, besides severals of his relations and other gentlemen who were killed on the spott. The Macleans were the only people of his side that gained honour that day, for after the rest were fled they sustained the shocke of the enemy for a long time, and at last retired in good order, in spight of the pursuers.

Sept. 7, 1594.

Sept. 27, 1594.

Locheill, who was unwilling to serve against Argyll, whom he favoured, had but a few of his men in this action. However, he engaged Macintosh his battalion, which he defeated, and pursued with great eager-

ness, and did Huntly such service as merited a different reward from that which he afterwards gott.

Huntly got nothing by his victorey, for the King, who had now taken the government into his own hands, marched to the North in person sone after the battle, and ordered several of Huntly's houses and those of his party to be demolished, which obliged him to leave the kingdome. But he was recalled in June, 1597, and was with the Earls of Erroll and Angus, two of his confederats, restored to their estates and dignitys, att a parliament which mett in December thereafter.

Macintosh, in the meantime, resolving to be revenged on Locheill, prevailed with the Earl of Argyle, whose sister he had marryed, to invade him from the West, while he with all the forces he could raise attacked him at the same time from the North, whereby he doubted not but he would oblige his antagonist to submitt to such terms as he would be pleased to give him.

Locheill knew nothing of this confederacey, but was so much on his guard, that Macintosh, who was exact as to his time, found him prepared to stop his passage over the great river of Lochy ; which neither of the partys daring to foard, they continued in inaction for several days. But provisions at last failing, Macintosh was reduced to very great straits, for Locheil's party daily increased, and there was no accounts of the assistance he expected, so that, disparing in the end, he was obliged to take the advantage of the night to retreat.

Locheill suspecting that there might be a stratagem in this precipitant motion, pursued with great caution, till he being convinced that his enemys retired in good earnest, he would have willing[ly] overtaken and engaged them when they were out of his reach.

No sooner had he returned to the Isle of Locheill where he then lived, than he was informed of the arivall of another body of enemys from the West, which did not a litle surprize him. For he was far from expecting an invasion from that quarter. They were commanded by the Laird of Ardkinlas, a gentleman of an antient family, and one of the principall of the name of Campbell. He drew up his men, which were about 800, att a place called Achinlourbeg, opposite to the isleand,

and being informed that the Macintoshes were gone, he reteired to a place where he was covered on all sides, called Inchdoricher, and resolved there to pass the night.

Locheill, who had that morning dispersed, immediatly issued out orders for conveening them again with all hast, and with his ordinary servants, which were eleven in all, he stoll by private wayes to the place where the Campbells were encamped, and having dilligently viewed them, a fancy took him that there was a possibility of frighting them with the few he had about him without running much danger. For they [were] surrounded by hills and woods in all parts; with this view, he drew up his men att proper distances from one another, and commanded them to fire all at once upon a signal, and then to fall flatt upon their faces to the ground. These orders they exactly performed to the great surprize of the enemy, and continued to repeat them round the camp till they were allarmed from all quarters. Some few of the enemy were killed, but their astonishment and fear was much greater than their loss, and fancied that they were farr surrounded. They neither durst adventure to retreate, nor had they courage enough to stand. In this pickle they continued till day appearing, they returned to their own countrey, without doing harm as they marched.

But the severe laws that were made for reduceing the Highlands, and for settling the peace of these parts, gave him more uneasieness than all the power of his enemys, and in the end did him more mischief; for besides many others, the Ministers of State observing that the publick was defrauded of the Crown Rents and Revenues in many parts, procured an Act of Parliament commanding all chiefs and proprietors of estats in the Isles and Highlands holding of the Crown, to appear* personally in the Court of Exchequer before the 20th May following, under the pain of forfeiture, and not only to exhibite all their charters and rights, but also to find baill and suerty to pay the Crown revenues; to redress all partys injured of losses and damages formerly sustained, and to live peaceably in time comeing.

This was a mortifying blow to Locheill, for he was not in a condition

* December 15, 1597.

to appear, on account of the sentance of forfeiture and proscription before mentioned, which was not yet taken off, whereby he lossed one of the best estates in the Highlands. All this was owing to his enemy Macintosh, which engaged him in the fatall league with the Earl of Huntly, who not only neglected Locheill contrair to express stipulation, when he made his pace with the King, but even, with the greatest ingratitude, tooke advantage of his missfortunes, as we shall see by and by.

Locheill left nothing undone to procure a remission in order to enable himself to give obedience to the Act of Parliament. But the time was so short, and the avarice of the Courtiers so great, (for they made a good mercat of these forfeitures,) that he could not prevaill. In a word, the act was rigorously executed, and many honest gentlemen, against whom nothing could be said, suffered, some in parts and some in their whole estates, and even Macintosh, who had served the Earl of Murray and the Protestant intrest with so much zeal, was forfeited off a part of his, because he could not, att the time appointed, produce the rights, which were then in the hands of some of his friends.

Locheill finding himself thus in the greatest danger of being stript of his whole estate, and forseeing that he would soone be surrounded by a multitude of new enemys, in so far as it would be the intrest of all who shared in it to suppress and keep him low. He judged it wise to make up matters with Macintosh, who was willing to accept of any terms in order to have his right of property to the lands in dispute assertained by a treaty ; nor did Macintosh neglect his opportunity, for immediatly after his return from Edinburgh, where the Court then was, and where he obtained new charters to the greatest part of his estate, by giveing obedience to the Act of Parliament, he invaded Lochaber att the head of a good body of men, but being stopt in the way by Locheill, who was prepared to receive him, friends on both sides interposed, and brought about an agreement, wherein the partys consented to the following articles :—

Macintosh mortgaged to Locheill and his heirs one half of the lands in dispute for the sume of 6000 merks, and gave him the other half for the service of the men liveing upon them. The contract was for 19

years ; Locheil's former title reserved intire, but forfeitable with the money in case he should occasion a rupture of the friendship and aimity then between them by any subsequent invasion or act of hostility, and Macintosh became bound to preserve the same under very severe penaltys.

While Locheill was bussied in projecting methods for saving or recovering other parts of his estate, there fell out an accident that disconcerted all his measures, and drew new enemys upon him.

Donald M'Ian of Ardnamurchan, head of a tribe of the Macdonalds, who inhabited that and the neightbouring countreys, having been betrothed to one of his daughters, was most basely murdered by his own uncle, while he was providing himself in an equipage suitable to the solemnity of his wedding, which, according to custome, he designed to have celebrated with some magnificence. The barbarous murder[er] was commonly known by the name of M'Vie Ewen. He was a person of gigantick size and incredible strength, and possest the country of Swynard by way of lase from his nephew, whom he killed, not in resentment of any injurey, but with a villanous view of succeeding to him in his estate and command as his next heir.

The bridgroom was a youth for whom Locheill had the highest esteem, on account of his excellent qualitys, and therefore no sooner heard of his death, [than] he resolved to revenge it upon the bloody author, who, in dread of his resentment, fled with all his goods and cattle to Mull, where he putt himself under the protection of Lawchlane More, Laird of Maclean, his near relation by his mother. But Locheill, upon information of his precipitate flight, pursued with the few men he had about him, which did not exceed sixty, and became master of his goods. But notwithstanding of all the haste he had made, M'Vie Ewen himself escaped him by ferrying over the Sound of Mull, a narrow passage or firth that divides that island from Morvine.

Maclean, who had beheld all that had passed from the opposite shoar, immediatly dispatched Hector Maclean, his eldest sone, with 220 men, and M'Vie Ewen himself, to recover the goods ; so that Locheill, seeing himself under a necessity of fighting, posted his men to such advantage as made up his defect of number. The audacious M'Vie Ewen

was armed capapie, and advanced with an air that spoke the highest contempt of his enemy ; but being overheated by the weight of his armour, he raised his helmet to take in fresh air, which one of Locheil's archers observing, so nicely nicked his opportunity, that he peirced him deep in the forehead with an arrow, whereby he dyed immediatly.

The death of their champion so dispirited his party, that Locheill had an easy victorey over them. Hector and twenty of his followers were made prisoners, whom he immediatly dismissed, ransom free. But he narrowly escaped Maclean himself, who during the action ferryed over from Mull, and persued with a greater number than he was able to engage.

Maclean was at that time engaged in a war against the Macdonalds of Islay, in which being soon thereafter mortally wounded, he was extreamly grieved that he had so much offended his nephew, Locheill, "for," said he, "[he] is the only Chief in the Highlands of courage, conduct, and power, sufficient to revenge my death, and I am confident, that if I had not injured and provocked him in the manner I have done, he would not have allowed himself much rest till he had effected it."

Locheill was no sooner informed of these expressions and of the death of his uncle, than he resolved to revenge it, and marching against his enemys at the head of his Clan, defeated them in a bloody battle, and tooke Hector Maclean of Lochbuy, who sided them against his Chief, with severals of his followers, prisoners of war. His resentment against these for parting the Macdonalds against their own kinsman was so great, that he detained them in chains for six months thereafter. But Lochbuy had soone an opportunity of being evens with him, as the reader shall hear in a more proper place.

This adventure gave Locheil's enemys great advantage over him att Court, where his sone John, who had a genius admirably turned for the mannagement of civill affairs, was bussily employed in negotiating for him, and was in a fair way of succeeding. But those who had putt in for the severall shares of his fortune that lay conterminous with their own, exaggerated matters so, that they in the end prevailled. The Lord Kintaill, predecessor to the Earle of Seaforth, gott the estates of Lochale, Loch-

carreon, and Strone, from Sir Alexander Hay, then Secretary of State, who was the King's donatory to these and all the other forfeitures. The lands of Lagan, and Achadrome, Invergary, Balnane, and others, were obtained by the Laird of Glengarry, and Barron of Lovate, and his several estats in Lochaber fell to the share of others, as shall by and by be more particularly observed. In a word, he was stript of the whole except the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkike, which he still peaceably injoyed by virtue of his late treaty with Macintosh, whereof I have already given some account.

In this unlucky situation, Locheill found it prudent to make up matters with these who obtained rights to his northern estates, because they ly at a distance, and were not inhabited by his own people. Besides, it was impossible for him to grapple with so many at one time. But, as to those in Lochaber, he resolved to retain the possession att all hazards, which was the chief motives that induced him to transact with the gentlemen I have named; one of the articles in all these treatys bearing an obligation upon them to assist him in defending the rest.

The estate of Locheill was purchased from the Secretarey, by the forementioned Hector Maclean of Lochbuy, for a very small sume, which was given by way of compliment. But that gentleman finding, after several fruitless attemps, that he was not in a condition to attain to the possession, made it over to the Earl of Argyle, in 1609, for the sume of 4100 merks, which was the very same that he had payed for it himself. Argyl's designe in this purchass was not probably to keep the estate for himself, but seems rather to have been [with] a view of augmenting his power, by forceing Locheill to hold it of himself before he consented to restore it; several communings hereupon ensued. But the partys not agreeing upon the terms, they were att last submitted to his Majesty:— and Clanrannald, whose mother Locheill had some years before marryed, was employed to negotiat for him att Court.

That monarch had succeeded to the Crown of England in 1603, though he was a Prince naturally mercyfull and just, yet he was somewhat too credulous, and very apt to take impression from such as were about him, whereby he was often exposed to the artifice of subtile and

designeing polititians ; many innocent persons sufferred by this foible. But especially, after his goeing to England, where, being at a distance, he had not the opportunity to examine matters as he ought, and probably would have done had he been nearer. Of this the unfortunate Clan Macgregor, of whom we shall soone give an account, affoard us a melancholy instance.

The King was so prejudged against them, that he resolved to have them utterly extirpated, and not only gave the Earl of Argyle a commission to performe that bloody work, but wrote to all the Chiefs and other men of power in the Highlands to assist him vigerously—promising high rewards to such as should contribute most to their destruction. Locheill was often sollicited to joyn in that crewell confederacey, but he was too well acquanted with their storey to comply, till the necessity of his affairs obliged him. For his Majesty would hear of nothing in his justification upon any other terms, so that he was in the end forced to enter into indentures with the Earl of Argyle as his Majesty's Lieutenant, and the Earl of Dunbar, Lord Treasourer, whereby the King became obliged, not only to restore him to his estate holding of the Crown, but likeways to receive him as his tenant and vassall for the lands of Glenlui and Locharkicke ; and, in a word, to free him from all dependence and vassalage of any sort. The contract contains severall other conditions in favours of Locheill, who, though he never designed to injure the proscribed Macgrigors, his faithfull friends, yet he thought there was no crime in imbraceing that opportunity to recover his estate, and ingratiat himself with his Majesty. Clanrannald was also a party in all these contracts, in behalf of his father-in-law, whom he served with an uncommon zeall. He was a youth of extraordinary qualitys, a polite courtier, and very adroite in the mannagement of business. He had formerly, in name of Locheill, agreed with the Earl of Argyle, with respect to the Barroney of Locheill, whereof the terms were submitted to his Majesty. With these two contracts he sett out ; and upon his arivall at Salisburry, where the Court then was, he found a ready complyance, from his Majesty, with all his demands ; for his indignation against the Macgrigors was nothing abated, as appears by his letter to Locheill, wherein,

after reciteing Clanrannald's negotiations, with the conditions of the two indentures, his Majesty is pleased to ratify them in the most ample manner, and assures him that, upon performances of the services thereby stipulated, they should be executed and fulfilled, and the charters and rights to his estate expedited, according to law. "Your neighbour (continues his Majesty) hath likewayes shewen unto us the articles sett down and agreed upon betwixt the Earl of Argyle and him, concerning the prosecution of our said service, whereby the Earl hath submitted unto us his right and title acclaimed by him to your lands of Locheill, and hath promitted to underly, and perform what we shall decern thereanent. You may be very glade that the Earl hath taken this course, for we shall so determine in that matter for your wellfair and security, as in reason, equity, and justice, we ought to doe; and if your right to these lands be not good, we will be a means that the Earl shall make the same better; and, therefore, we will desire you, as you would have us blott out of our memorey your former life, and to esteem and protect you, as our own vassall, tenant, and good subject. That you goe on faithfully and carefully in this service, and prosecute the same to the finall end thereof, in such form as you shall receive directions from the Earl of Argyle our Leutenant; and, in the meantime, that you seek all good occasions whereby you may do some service by yourself, and how soon the same is ended, you shall doe well to repair unto us, that you may receive your promised reward, and understand our furder pleasure concerning such other services as we shall employ you in," &c.

His Majesty also promises to cause the Marquess of Huntly doe him justice, with respect to a differance that shall be hereafter explained.

These Macgrigors, against whom the King was so furiously incensed, were one of the most antient Clans in the Highlands, and are said to be descended from the Royall Family of our Kings, about the middle of the ninth centurey. They possessed a great part of that country which lyes at the back of the Grampian mountains, and thereabouts; and as they were a very warlick and brave people, so they faithfully served the Crown in most of the wars, civill and foreign, that our Kings were engaged in. The true case of their ruine proceeded from the cunning and

policy of their neightbours, who having first raised and fomented quarrells between them and other rivall Clans, missrepresented their actions in such a manner to the Government, that they in the end gott them proscribed, and doomed to utter destruction; and all this with a most base and avaritious view of shareing their estats among them, in which they succeeded but too well.

The best account of the origionall and progress of their missfortunes that I have mett with, is in a MS. History of the Family of Sutherland, written by Mr Alexander Ross, one of the Professors of the University of Aberdeen. He flourished at that very time, and wrote his history [a] few years thereafter. His relation of that tragedy, which he mentions only in passant, as a very memorable event, agrees exactly, so far as it goes, with the traditionall accounts we have of it current in the countrey, and it is a loss to the curious that it is not more full. The translation I have made of that passage from the Latine origionall, being almost literall, is as follows:—

"In the spring of the year 1602, there happned great dissentions and troubles between the Laird of Luss, Chief of the Colquhouns, and Alexander, Laird of Macgrigor. The origional of these quarells proceeded from injurys and provocations, mutually given and received. Not long before Macgrigor, however, inclining to have them ended in friendly communings, marched att the head of 200 of his Clan to Leven, which borders upon Luss, his countrey, with a view of settling matters by the mediation of friends. But Luss had no such intention, and projected his measures with a different view; for he privatly drew together a body of 300 horse and 500 foot, composed partly of his own Clan and their followers, and partly of the Buchanans, his neightbours, and resolved to cutt off Macgrigor and his party to a man, in case the issue of the conference did not answer his inclinations. But matters fell out otherwaise than he expected; and though Macgrigor had previous information of all his insiduous designs, yet desembling his resentment, he keept the appointment, and parted good friends in appearance.

"No sooner was he gone than Luss, thinking to surprize him and his party in full security, and without any dread or apprehension of his

treachery, followed with all speed, and came up with him at a place called Glenfron. Macgrigor, upon the allarm, divided his men into two partys, the greatest whereof he commanded himself, and the other he committed to the care of his brother John, who, by his orders, led them about another way, and attacked the Colquhouns in the flank. Here it was fought with great resentment and bravery on both sides for a considerable time ; and notwithstanding the vast disproportion of numbers, Macgrigor in the end obtained an absolute victorey. So great was the route, that 200 of the Colquhouns were left dead upon the field, most of the leading men killed, and a multitude of prisoners taken.* But what seemed most surprizing and incredible in this defeatt was, that none of the Macgrigors were amissing except John, the Laird's brother, and one common fellow, though indeed many of them were wounded.

"The newes of this slaghter having shortly reached his Majesty's ears, he was exceedingly incenced against the Macgrigors. They had no friends att Court to plead their cause and molify his resentment, by making a fair state of their case. But instead of facts being placed in their proper light, everything was represented there in the blackest colours, and no person contradicting these insidious informations, the unhappy Macgrigors were involved in a great many troubles. For the King immediatly commanded the whole tribe to be denounced rebells and proscribed. He furder impowered the Earl of Argyle and the Campbells to hunt them out, and drag them, without any furder tryall, to punishment ; nor indeed did they spare either industrie or expence in the execution of their commissions.

* It is said that while they were preparing to engage, some boys that were on their road to the school of Dumbartan, which was then very famous, chanceing to arrive, the Laird of Macgregor, to prevent their falling into danger, ordered them to he shutt up in a barn, and left one of his own servants, named [Cameron], to attend them ; but that the barbarous wretch, enraged to be so debar'd from shareing in the honour of the action, and foolishly imagining it a mark of infamy and cowardice to be sett over a few boys, while his comerads were fighting, like one in a frenzy, turned his furry againt those innocents, and inhumanly murdered them with his durk. It is likewayes added, that they were mostly the sons of gentlemen of distinction, and that their mournfull parents afterwards unitted in bringing vengeance on those whom they thought to be the authors of the execrable tragedy. What trewth may be in this story I know not, but it is constantly averred that this was the pretext that was principally made use of for the destruction of the Macgregors.

"Pursuant to which, there happned a remarkable conflict at a place called Pentoick, where Robert Campbell, sone to the Laird of Glenorchey, with 200 chosen men, attacked 60 of the Clan Gregar. In this action, only two of the Macgrigars, but of the Campbells no less than seven of their principall gentlemen and many of the meaner sort fell upon the field, though they had afterwards the assurance to give it out, that they themselves had the victory. In a word, after a great many crewell murders and fierce skirmishes, the Macgrigors were in the end much humbled, and though many of them were killed, yet many more of the Campbells lost their lives on these occasions.

"But att length Argyle, by specious pretences and fair promises, enticed the Laird of Macgrigor to come to a friendly conference, and there undertooke to goe along with him in person to Court to be his advocat himself, and to represent the case in such a manner that he made no doubt of reconceiling him and his Clan to K. James. But all this was meer trick and deceit. For though he actually sett out, and proceeded on his pretended journey as far as Berwick, he suddenly changed his mind and returned to Edinburgh, where he caused the credulous old man and thirty of his relations to be publickly executed. By this examplary punishment, Argyle imagined that he would not only putt an end to the present troubles, but also open to himself a door for extinguishing the whole name and tribe of the Macgrigors. But things fell out otherwayes than he expected."

This last part of the story is more fully related. The Laird of Auchinbreck being either sone-in-law or otherwayes nearly related to Macgrigar, often solicited the Earl of Argyle to befriend him, and prevailled so far that his Lordship agreed to an interview, in order to concert measures for obtaining a pardon from the King, and gave his word of honour, that Macgrigar and such of his friends as were pleased to attend him should be secure of their lives and libertys in all events.

This Argyle, father to the famous Marquess, had the charracter of great honour and integrity, so that Auchinbreck, who was trewely a worthy and ane honest man, after some deficulty prevailed with Macgrigor and his friends to trust themselves, though under the sentance of out-

lawry and proscription, to the honour and faith of the very person who was employed to destroy them, and it is still commonly said, that Argyle was at first sincere, and truely designed to have performed his promise. But he had the weakness incident to easy and indolent tempers, of allowing himself to be too much swayed and mannaged by his favourits.

The person in whom he confided most was one Mr Campbell of Aberuchell, a cadet of the House of Lawers, who mannaged the affairs of his estate, as his chamberlane or stewart. This gentleman, who acted more upon the principils of intrest than of honour, was smooth, cunning, and insinuating, and by his artfull conduct wholly guided the counceills of his master. He bore a great enmity to the Macgrigars upon former grudges, and as he saw no advantage that could accrue either to him or to his master by saving them, so he thought that he or his friends might probably share in their spoils if they were destroyed. In a word, intrest and revenge working equally in his breast, he used so much arte, policy, and cunning, that he at length persuaded the Earl to chainge his former resolution, and to treat Macgrigor and his friends in the manner related by Mr Ross. But the generous Auchinbreck, who was neither of their counceill or company, was no sooner made acquainted with the last scene of this tragedy, than he vowed revenge upon the author. With this view, he posted to Edinburgh, and watching a proper opportunity when the Earl and his Chamberlane were by themselves, he first ubraided his Chief with his breach of faith and honour, and then suddenly clapping a cocked pistol to his breast, putt him to the crewell necessity of stabing his friend and confident through the hart with his own hand. Nor did he think this extraordinary proofe of his innocence and resentment sufficient to satisfie the friends of the injured, till he putt himself into their hands, and offered, with his own blood, to attone for the misfortunes which he had innocently occasioned by this unlucky persuasion and advice.

Thus far Mr Ross. But not only Argyle, Glenurchy, and the rest of the Campbells, were employed in this barbrous proscription, but all the Lords and Chiefs from the West to the North Seas ; so that [it] is impossible they could have stood out against such a number of enemys,

if they had been all spirited with the same zeal that those who had an eye upon their estates and possessions were acted by.

But the trewth is, that many thought they were unjustly persecuted; and were so far from executing their commissions, that they assisted and protected them from the violence of their persecutors. To such a hight of barbarity were matters carryed by some, that a pryce being sett upon heads of the proscribed Clan by the Counceil, several hundred were murdered who had no relation to that name, some for greed of the promised reward, and others in resentment of former quarrells; and severals no doubt out of a mistaken zeale for the publick service conspyring to their destruction.

The severity of this tyranical persecution obliged multitudes of them to abandon their habitations; and they reteired to such places as they imagined would best affoard them security and protection. The better sort made the best bargains they could with their enemys, and gave up their estats and possessions for small compositions. By these transmigrations they came, in the end, to be scattered through all parts of the kingdome, where their posterity are still to be found under different names, and even many of them have lost the very memorey of their origional. Such of them as remained in their own countrey continued for many years to make head against the furry of their enemys, till, being at last stript of all they had, they grew barbarous and desperat, and were obliged to comitt several violences and enormitys for their subsistence; so that, in the succeeding reigne, their name was suppressed by act of parliament, and they severally obliged, after sixteen years of age, to make compearance yearly on the 24th of Jully before the Counceil, and to find caution for their good behaviour, under the pain of being again proscribed and outlawed. And thus they continued, till the merite of their services under the great Montrose procured them the freedom of other good subjects.

They are still pretty numerous in the Highlands, but scattered and dispersed over all parts of it; but especially in these that ly adjacent to their antient possessions. Few of them have estats there, but many of them are to be found in other parts of the kingdom, who are possessed of opulent fortuns; and some of that race have since made a consider-

able figure both in the civill and militarey government, though covered under borrowed names.

As to Locheill, he did them no harm. They had often served him in his wars, and he was too well acquainted with their story to act the barbarous part that was injoyned him by the commission. In a word, rather than be concerned in such horrid butcherys, he choise to transact with Argyle by himself for recovering a legall title to the estate of Locheill; and submitted, in the end, to terms which he had often refused—that is, he agreed to renounce his former title, and to take a charter from the Earl in favours of his sone John, holding the estate of him and his heirs taxt-waird, and paying yearly the sume of 100 merks Scots of fewduty. This bargain was concluded on the 22d August 1612; and the sume which he payed to Argyle, as the pryce of [the] lands, was the forementioned 400* [merks] which the Lord had given to Lochbuy for it, as is before noticed.

The reader has been already informed of the services that Locheill did to the Earl of Huntly in his wars against the Earl of Murray, and of the obligations that that Lord was bound to by indenture, not only to reward him to his own satisfaction, but also to consent to no treaty of peace without his approbation and consent. The Earl, as has been before observed, was sone after the battle of Glenlivet restored to the King's favour, and advanced to the dignity of Marquess; but he tooke no care of his confederat, but abandoning him to his ill fortune, occasioned the loss of a very opulent estate, and drew after it a traine of missadventures that were likely to have terminated in the utter ruine of himself and his family. Nor was this all; for Locheill, having, in order to save the rest of his estates in Lochaber, which were very considerable, employed the Marquess his eldest sone, the Earl of Enzie, in whom he had absolute confidence, to putt in for the gift of them from the King's donator, at such prices as could be agreed upon, his Lordship accepted of the service, and made the purchases accordingly; but, as he had

* 4100. *Vide* p. 47.—*Edit.*

acted in this affair only as Locheil's trustee, so it was not doubted that he would resigne them in favours of his sone John, as soone as it should be demanded.

But the Earl acted upon more interested principils than was imagined, for he resolved either to keep these estates to himself, or, if he did restore them, it was upon such conditions of dependance and servitude as he knew Locheill would not consent to, nor could all the application made by himself and by his friends prevaill upon that Lord to doe him justice. These lands were then, as they still are, wholly possessed by Camerons; and Locheill knowing that none other durst inhabite them without his consent, resolved to keep the possession which he then enjoyed as landlord, and which, in these circumstances, he believed it would be no easy matter to force him to give up.

Thus were affairs situated, when Clanrannald was commissioned to negotiat for him at Court; and his Majesty was so bent upon the extirpation of the Macgrigors, that, in order to engage him in that service, he not only, as is before mentioned, consented to all his demands, but also to cause the Marquess of Huntly to restore these estates: but Locheill, abhoring the service, continued to possess in the manner I have related. He thought it no crime to defend his own, and the better to enable himself, he engadged the assistance of severals of his neightbours, and particularly of Glengarry, to whom he marryed one of his daughters, and for her portion gave him the lands of Knoidart, reserving an annuity with the supperiority to himself, and likewayes the lands of Laggan and Achadrome, Invergarry, and Balnane; of which last Glengarry had procured formerly the gift from the Secretary, Sir Alexander Hay, as I have before hinted.

Huntly was aware of the deficulty of getting into possession by force, and therefore did not make any attempt that way. But he tooke more effectuall measures, and these were by debauching severals of Locheal's nearest relations, the sons of the late tutors, and others of that faction, whom by underhand practices he carryed over so intearly to his intrest, that they accepted of leases of these estates from him, and engaged themselves not only to make good their possessions, but likewayes to re-

nounce all manner of dependance upon their Chief; and so absolutely to become his creatures, as to fight for him to the last drop of their blood against all mortalls.

When Locheill came to discover this defection, which had been all along managed with the greatest privacey, he was surprized and confounded, in a manner that is easier to be imagined than described. If they were allowed to proceed, he saw that his ruine was finished; for, as they had already gained over many of the meaner sort to their party, so he knew that they would increass in strength and numbers, whereby his authority and reputation would be lost, and his family shrink into nothing. The conspirators, besides, to cover their cryms, added new guilt to their perfidy, patcht up some abominable title, and gave out that the head of their faction was the trew heirs of Ewen M'Allan, and had consequently a just clame to the estate and Chieftanrey. What kind of logick they made use of to sett aside the posterity of the elder brother I know not, but it is certain that they had a powerfull faction in the Clan, which abetted their intrest att first; but the greatest part of them, being made sensible of their error, were easily reclaimed, and not only returned to the obedience of the Chief, but assisted him in destroying their leaders, who continued obstinate to the last; for he commanded sixteen of them to be putt to the sword, and by that terrible and examplary Sept. 1614. punishment pulled up a faction by the root, that began att his very birth, and continued till that time. Though it is true that from his taking the management of affairs into his own hands, he so far suppressed it by his authority, that it seemed wholly hushed, till it was again revived by the cunning and policy of the Marquess of Huntly and his sone, who knew well how to make their own use of such people. And here it is to be observed, that this is the only division that is to be heard [of] among that Clan.

The newes of this slaughter, which must be allowed to have been more necessary than justifiable, soone reaching the Marquess and his sone, the Earl of Enzie, they resolved not to putt up [with] the affront, and threatned to have him and his Clan treated in the very same manner with their friends the Macgregars. They made a hideous representation of matters

att Court, and having obtained a new sentence of outlawry and proscription against them, they applyed to all the Chiefs in the North for their assistance in executing it. However, they were all heard, and even Macintosh, who thought with the rest that Locheill had done nothing wrong, was so generous as to refuse his concurrance, alleageing for excuse, that by his treaty with Locheill he could not attack him without incurring the penalty, which was the loss of the lands in dispute, as he then pretended. That gentleman, having by this drawn the Marquess his indignation upon him, was some time thereafter, by his intrest, arreasted and confined to the Castle of Edinburgh, upon this pretext, that he had not found suerty for the peaceable behaviour of his Clan, as he was by law obliged.

But this friendship between him and Locheill did not long subsist, for having marched into Lochaber in 1616 at the head of his Clan, in order, as he gave out, to hold courts as heritable stewart of that lordship, Locheill, upon his approach, guarded all the foords of Locheil, and opposed his crossing that river. This Macintosh interpreted as a breatch of the forementioned treaty, which expired this year ; and applyed to the Lords of the Privy Counceill, who, by their decree, found that Locheill was lyable in the mulct or penalty, and not only decreed and ordained him to remove, but also granted Letters of Intercommuning or Outlawry against all the inhabitants of the disputed lands.

This brought on several invasions from Macintosh, who gained nothing by them ; but forced Locheill, who was unable to grapple with so many enemys, to the crewel necessity of giveing ear to some proposals of agreement offerred by the Marquess of Huntly and his sone, who now began to preferr their intrest to their resentment.

Several persons of the highest quality acted as mediators between the partys, and bestirred themselves so effectually, that they in the end brought them to submitt to the following articles :—1*st*, That there should be friendship and amity between them, and that Locheill should renounce all his former rights to the several estates in dispute. 2*d*, That the Marquess and his sone should, in liew of his clame, give to his sone John a charter of the lands of Mammore, holden of themselves and their

heirs, for payment of 20 merks Scots yearly of few-duty, and the service of the men living upon them, as often as it should be required. 3*d*, That the said Marquess and his sone and their heirs should not dispossess the present tenants of the estats that were by this bargain adjudged to them, but continue the said tenants in their several possessions for the same rents that they formerly payed to Locheill. And, 4*th*, To prevent future quarrells, it was stipulated that all differances that should thereafter happen to arise between the partys contractors should be referred to the decision of Alexander Earl of Drumfermling, Lord Chancelour, John Earl of Perth, Thomas Lord Binny, and several others named in the Indenture, who were the persons that acted as mediators; and in default of them, to the sentance and decree of the Lords of the Justiciarey.

Pursuant to this treaty, there was a charter granted to Locheil's forementioned son John, by George Earl of Enzie, with consent of the Marquess his father, which bears date the 24th March 1618.

There was another important article then agreed upon, which I had almost omitted; for the Marquess and his sone consented likewayes to give charters to Camerons of Letter-Finlay, Gleneviss, Ballanit, and some others of Locheil's friends, of the several lands they then and formerly possessed, as tenants and vassalls to their Chief, and which still continue with their posterity.

By this dissadvantageous bargain Locheill lost near two-thirds of his estate lying eastward and south of the loch and river of Lochy, which to this day remains with the House of Gordon. Such was the issue of this fatall leauge with this ungratefull Marquess, and such was the reward he received for all the blood, trouble, and lands which he lost in his service.

Having thus made up matters with Huntly in the best manner he could, that Lord became engaged to support and assist him against Macintosh, his competitor, which he performed to the outmost of his power; for he hated Macintosh, and gave him all the vexation and trouble that possibly he could. That gentleman, being now convinced, from repeated proofs,

that he would never make out his designs by the strength of his own Clan, resolved to take another course, and sett out on a journey to Court, where he found his Majesty very much inclined to favour him, on account of his services against the Macgrigers, which he exaggerated much beyond the trewth. He made loud complaints against Locheill, as a person that contemned the royall authority, and who scorned to live by any other lawes than his own. In short, he described him as a common robber and oppressor, destitute of all humanity; and filled the King's ears with such horried notions of his barbarity and crewelty, that he obtained the following letter to the Counceil, which I have here transcribed on purpose to show how easie it is for designeing people to ruine the most innocent at the Courts of Princes, when there are non to vindicat them.

"James R.

"Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousins and Councelers, and Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councelours, we greet you well. —Whereas Allan M'Coiliduy, in contempt of us and our Government, standeth out in his rebellion, oppressing his neightbours, and beheaving himself as if there were neither King nor law in that our kingdom: it is our pleasure that ye ratify what acts you have heretofore made against him; and furder, that ye expede a Commission in due form, to Sir Lachlan Macintosh, the Lord Kintaill, the Laird of Grant, and such others as the said Sir Lawchlan shall nominate, to prosecute the said Allan with fire and sword, till they have apprehended him, or at least made him answerable to our laws; and that ye direct strick charges to all these of the Clan Chattan, wheresoever inhabiting, to follow the said Sir Lawchlan in that service; also, that ye charge the Marquess of Huntly and the Lord Gordon, as Sheriffs of Inverness, to be aiding and assisting to our said Commissioners: Moreover, that charges be directed to the friends of the Earl of Argyle, and all others next adjacent to the said Allan, in nowayes to assist him; with certification, that whosoever shall aid, assist, relieve, or intercommon with him, shall be accounted partakers of his rebellion, and be punished accordingly with rigour: And the pre-

mises commending to your special care, as ye will doe us acceptable service, we bid you fair well. Given att our Palace of Whitehall, the 6th day of May, 1622."

But notwithstanding of this letter, and of the rigorous Commissions and orders issued out in consequence of it by the Lords of the Prive Counceill, Macintosh gained nothing in effect by all his expence and dilligence, but the honour of Knighthood, which his Majesty was then pleased to conferr upon him: For Locheill, having by this time made up matters with the Lord Kintaill, with respect to the estates I have mentioned, their antient friendship was renewed in such a manner, that his Lordship declined the Commission. The Laird of Grant was much more his friend, and though Sir Lauchlan was his sone-in-law, yet he was so far from injureing him that he did him several important servieces. The Lord Barron of Lovate was the antient and hereditary friend of his family; the Marquess of Huntly and his sone were not in good terms with Macintosh; and the other gentlemen, to whom the like Commissions were directed, being equally unwilling to serve him, he was at last obliged once more to try his fortune att the head of his own Clan. Locheill was prepared to receive him, and his men were very keen to measure the justice of their cause by the length of their swords; but he himself being unwilling to oppose the Royal Commission, a treaty was artefully sett on foot, and the partys agreed to submit all their differances to the Earl of Argyll, the Laird of Grant, and some other arbitrators.

Locheill, by this, designed no more but to gett rid of his present difficultys; and though there was a decree pronounced, adjudgeing the estate to Macintosh, who, in lieu thereof, was thereby ordained to pay Locheill certain sums of money, yet he cunningly shifted the ratification, and continued in possession till his title became once more legall, as shall hereafter be shewen, when we come to the conclusion of that antient controversie, in the life of his grandsone Sir Ewen.

In all his troubles, he was vigorously supported by the Earls of Argyle and Perth, and the Lord Madderty, who espoused his intrest with a zeall that seemed to be inspyred with the truest affection and friend-

ship. The Marquess of Huntly and the Earl of Enzie his sone, likewayes shewed him great favour after the reconcilment I have mentioned, nor were the Lairds of Glengarry and Clanrannald, his sons-in-law, the Lairds of Grant, and others of his neightbours, less active in promoting his intrest. Many of the letters that passed between him and these noble persons are still extant. They were collected by his grandson; and as they generally relate to the passages I have pointed att, so the most important transactions of his life may be collected from them, and some other wryts that are still to be found in the family. By this it appears that the Lord Madderdy, brother to the Earl of Perth, was surety for him in all his transactions in the Low-Countrey, and that he had the custody of his charters and such other papers as it was thought could not be safely keept at home, in these troublesome times.

He had the good fortune to be reconciled with his Majesty before his death. This favour he owed chiefly to the friendship of the Earls [of] Argyle and Perth, who represented matters in such a light, that the King gave him a full remission for all the illegall and irregular steps of his life, which are therein recited. It is dated the 28th June 1624, which was the last year of that King's life. His Majesty was likewayes pleased to wryte to his Counceil to receive him and his Clan as his most loyall and dutifull subjects; and because he woud be obliged, in obedience to the laws, to goe in person to Edinburgh in order to find surety for his Clan, the King furder commands them to issue forth Letters of Protection, dischargeing the Lords of Session and Justiciary and all other judges to sustain proces against him and his said clan for years, for any cause, civill or criminall, preceeding that date.

The only person that now gave him trouble was the Laird of Macintosh; but he had too much cunning and mettle for him. The recitall of the adventures that befell him in his frequent journeys to Drummond Castle, the principall seat of the family of Perth, his adress and cunning in eluding the stratagems made use of by Macintosh to become master of his person while he was an outlaw, would be entertaining to the reader, if my intended brevity allowed place for them, in so short ane abstract.

His eldest sone, John, has been often mentioned; he [was] a gentle-

man of exquisite judgement, and had a genius happily turned for the management of civill affairs. He seldome mistooke his measures; and had not the cross accidents I have mentioned very often disconcerted his projects, it is probable that he would not only have recovered the antient patrimony of the family, but also have advanced it to a degree of ritches and splendour beyond what it ever enjoyed. He died sixteen years before his father, and by his Lady, Mrs Margaret Campbell, daughter to Robert Campbell, then of Glenfalloch, afterwards of Glenurchy, whom he married in October 1626, he left behind him two sons and two daughters.

The actions of Ewen, his eldest sone, are the subject of the following Memoirs; and Allan, his younger sone, proving also a gentleman of courage and parts, was maryed to Mrs Jean Macgrigor, sister to James, Laird of Macgrigor, in August 1666, and died young.

Locheil's second sone, Donald, became afterwards tutor to his nephew, and acquitted himself of that charge with singular probity and honour. Of him is the family of Glendesary, now a very considerable tribe of the Camerons, descended. We shall hereafter have occasion to mention him. Besides these, he had many daughters; one whereof was marryed to the Laird of Glengarry, another to the Captain of Clanrannald, a third to the Laird of Appine, a fourth to Maclean of Ardgour, a fifth, if I am not mistaken, to Macdonald of Keppoch, and the rest to other gentlemen of that neightbourhood, whose names doe not just now occur.

His charracter, with what furder remains to be said of Locheill, we reserve to a more proper place; for he outlived the battle of Inverlochy, and died about the year 1647, in a very advanced age.

But before we conclude this Introduction, it will be proper to give some account of a clergeyman of his name, whose extraordinary genius and parts rendered him so famous, that he was distinguished by the name of The Great Cameron. He was the sone of Mr John Cameron, Minister of Dunune, the same who was Governour to Locheill, as we have formerly related. He passed his greener years in the University of Glasgow, and leaving his own countrey while he was very young, arrived att Burdeaux, in 1600, where some of his Religion observing his

great qualitys, and the progress he had made in learning, sent him to study Divinity att their proper expences. He afterwards became a Minister of their Church. But the place where he gott most reputation was at Samur, where he taught Divinity for three years. Being of oppinion that Calvin's tenets concerning grace, free-will, and predestination, were very harsh, his judgement inclined more to those of Arminius; and herein he was followed by so many learned men among the Protestants of these parts, such as Amarat, Capell, Bochart, Daille, and others, that the Calvinists spoke of the Schoole of Samour as of a party opposite to theirs.

Cameron published many learned Treatises in support of his opinion, all in a copious and neat stile, whereby he became one of the most famous men of that age. But the books that got him the greatest charracter were printed after his death; and, in particular, his most learned and judicious Remarks upon the New Testament, which were published under the title of Morothecum Evangelicum, and were afterwards inserted in the Criticks of England.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND ACTIONS OF SIR EWEN CAMERON OF LOCHEILL,

CHIEF OF THE CLAN CAMERON;

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST MATERIAL TRANSACTIONS IN THE HIGHLANDS, FROM THE YEAR 1629, TO THE TREATY OF AUCHALADER, BETWEEN THE LATE KING WILLIAM AND THE CLANS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN INTRODUCTOREY ACCOUNT OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE CAMERONS.

Justum et tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solidâ, neque Auster,
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna manus Jovis:
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

HOR.

MEMOIRS OF LOCHEILL.

BOOK FIRST.

CONTAINING THE MOST MATERIAL PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE, FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE RESTORATION.

SIR EWEN CAMERON.

Sir Ewen Cameron was born in February 1629, at a seat of the Earl of Breadalban's, called Castle Culchorn, and situated in ane Island of Lochow, a fresh-water lake in Glenorchey. His mother was a daughter of that family, and aunt to the late famous Earl John ; a beautifull lady, and of great spirit and vivacity. He lived with his foster-father for the first seven years, according to an old custome in the Highlands, whereby the principall gentlemen of the Clan are intituled to the tuition of the Chief's children during their pupillarity. Nor does it alwaise end there, for these foster-fathers are often at the charges of their education, and when they return them to their fathers, they give them portions equall to any of their own children. This friendly custome is very benefitiall to the younger children ; for their portions being in cows, and sett aside for them while they are very young, they encrease to a great value before the young gentlemen arive att majority.

Sir Ewen's foster-father was Mr Cameron of Latter-Finlay, an antient gentleman, and captain of a numerous tribe of the Clan-Cameron, called by his patronimick, the Tribe of the Mackmartins. The care of his

education, after this, divolved upon his uncle, who acted as his guardian, and by his dilligence and industrey, preserved the remains of the estate, which was almost wholly lost by the misfortune of his grandfather Allan, who survived his eldest sone many years, but was so old and infirm that he gave over all bussiness. About the twelfth year of his age, he was committed to the tuition of the Marques of Argyle; who, suspecting that his education might be neglected by his uncle, resolved to be at that trouble himself; and having with some difficulty prevailed with his friends to part with him, putt him to school at Inverarey, under the inspection of a gentleman of his own appointment.

This happned about the beginning of the year 1641, the year on which the fatal rebellion brock out against the unfortunate K. Charles the First. The family of Argyle, as it was wholy indebted to the Crown for the vast power and ritches to which it had arrived, so the predecessors of this Marquis had, on all occasions, distinguished themselves by their loyalty; nor indeed had the King a more faithfull servant than the late Earl, who went so far as to advise his Majesty to committ his sone, the Lord Lorn, then att London, to the Tower; and said, plainly, that if he neglected that opportunity, his sone, the Lord Lorn, wowld wind him a pirn, that is, he wowld creat the King a great dale of trouble; but that generous Prince wowd not herken to the father's advice, and the son, who was soon informed of it, quickly putt himself out of danger by a speedy retreat into his own countrey, where he soon gave the King cause enough to repent of his clemency, for he was deeply embarked in the rebellion, and as he was a person of the greatest genius, and of the most unfathomable policy and cunning, so he soon became head of the Covenanters, and conducted their affairs as he pleased.

The good King did everything in his power to sooth these obstinate rebells into their duty. He came to Scotland in August 1641, and not only granted them redress of all their pretended grivances, but preferred them to all the valuable posts in the nation, loaded them with dignities and honours, and bestowed the whole revenue of the Crown among them in grants and pensions. But nothing wowld doe; the ferment must work itself, and in a more tradgicall; and it was observed, that as the

King was most bountifull and gratious to his greatest enemys, so the more they tasted of his goodness and generosity, they became the more obstinate and inveterat in their malice. By this, we may see that it's wisdome to dissable our enemys, and cherish our friends; for gratitude and love are virtues of too sublime and generous a nature to be expected from mercenary and corrupt minds. A canker in the soule resembles a feaver in the body, and is only to be carried off by severe bleeding, and by exhausting that substance and strength, and drawing away those juices that nourish it.

But in spight of the general spirit of madness and enthusiasm that threw the kingdom into such horible convulsions, there were still some that had strength of constitution enough to recover, and to make a glorious attonment for their past failieings. The most conspicuous of these was the great Marquess of Montrose, who, though at first born away by the torrent, was soon conscious of his error, and imbraced the royall cause with that zeal and success, that if his Majesty had not been imposed upon by some great men whom he trusted, it is probable that Montrose would have given his countreymen work enough at home, and thereby prevented the fatal conjunction of the two rebellious nations. Supported, however, by the loyal Clans and a few Irish who had no arms till they took them from the enemy, he performed wonders, and gave them so maney bloody defeats, that he reduced all on the North side of the river of Forth to the King's obedience.

Besides their being of opposite partys, there was a personal enmity between him and Argyle, which occasioned great mischief to the countrey; for Argyle having putt himself upon the head of a numerous army of the Covenanters, and joyned to them a good body of his own Highlanders, he marched northward, and not only ravaged, burnt, and desolated Montrose's own lands, but likewaise those of his adherents and followers. These outrages drew the odium of the countrey upon the authors, and provocked Montrose to retaliate them; for marching through Breadalbane, he tooke up his winter quarters att Inverarey, where he allowed his suldiers to live at discretion. But the inhabitants, who knew their master's guilt, having carried off their effects, and abandoned their

dwellings before he arrived, it was not in their power to doe much harm. From thence directing his march to Lochaber, he halted at Inverlochay, where old Locheill, (who was then better known by the name of Allan M'Coildui, of Lochaber,) attended by the principall gentlemen of his Clan, waited on him, and added 300 of his name to the army. This party was commanded by a brave young gentleman, who bore the office of Lieutenant-Collonell, and acquitted himself with great honour and courage while the war lasted.

No sooner was Montrose gone, than Argyle arived with a considerable army of his own Highlanders, and others who were pleased to follow him, and encamped almost upon the same ground where his enemies had been the night before. He had the more assurance of success, that Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, the eldest cadet of his family, and a gentleman of great bravery, and Collonell of one of the Scots regiments then in Ireland, whom he called over one purpose, and several other officers of note attended him in that expeadition. His designe was to follow Montrose slowly upon the rear; while Major-General Bailly, and Sir John Hurry, advanced upon his front, at the head of a powerfull army from the North; so that, being inclosed between two armys, whereof any one was more than double his own in numbers, they imagined that he and all his followers cowld not escape being cutt to peices.

Montrose was by this time advanced as far as Stratharick, which is thirty long miles of very bad road from Inverlochay, where he was overtaken by an express from Locheill, (Bishop Guthrey calls him Allan M'Coildui, of Lochaber,) informing him of Argyle's arivall and designs, and advising him to return with all expeadition and fight him, before his northern enemys had time to advance. Montrose did not hesitate upon the matter, but turning about, marched with that wonderfull quickness, that, arriving about 12 o'clock at night, he satt down by Argyle that night, and early the next morning attacked and routed him with a great slaughter. The gentlemen and officers of the name of Campbell beheaved with all imaginable bravery, but were so soon deserted by the commons, that the slaughter fell heavey upon them; the few that escaped

betook themselves to the old Castle of Inverlochay, and defended themselves till they procured terms for life and liberty, which Montrose the more readily granted, that he knew that many of them were forsed into these measurs against their will.

This memorable battle was fought on the 2d February 1645. Of Argyl's men there fell about 1500, and of Montrose's only three common suldiers, and the gallant Sir Thomas Ogilvie, sone to the Earl of Airly, a youth of exceeding great merite. Allan M'Coildui was a spectator of this action, and waited on the victorious General after his return from the pursute. Montrose acknouledged the great service was done him in the seasonable advertizement he received, and accepted of the invitation of staying in that friendly countrey for three or four days, to refresh his wearied troops, which were plentifully supplyed with all necessareys.

Several young gentlemen of the name of Cameron having joyned the party of their own Clan, already mentioned, he marched northward, and after several noble exploits, had the good fortune to encounter and defeat Sir John Hurry, who, besids five old regiments and some troops of horse, had a multitude of Sutherlands, and other Northern Highlanders with him, at a village called Aldearn; and this victorey was the more memorable, that the Macleans and others of Montrose's best troops were either otherwaise imployed, or at home upon forloffs.

Upon the 2d of Jully thereafter, he obtained another victorey over Major-Generall Bailly att Alford, who came against him with more powerfull forces, by express orders from those turbulent spirits who satt at the helm of affairs, to revenge the former defeate. Both these victoreys were absolute and bloody, and struck the government with terror and amazement.

It may seem surprizing to the reader, that, notwithstanding the Camerons and their Chief sided openly with that hero, and that old Locheill, though unable to serve in these wars on account of his age and other infirmitys, was, however, the true instrument that drew on the battle of Inverlochay, which coast Argyle the lives of so many of his friends, and brock all his measures, as was then loudly talked of. I say, it may seem strange that the Marques of Argyle should, in such circumstances, con-

tinue his favour for that Clan, and his friendship and care in educating their young Chief, whom we shall hereafter name by the title of Locheill.

His grandfather, Allan, about this time having ended his life, his Lordship had omitted nothing that he thought could contribute to the improvement of the fine qualities which he daily found increaseing in his young ward. He was now fourteen out, of a good grouth, healthfull, vigorous, and sprightly. Though he had a good genius for letters, and a quick conception, yet his excessive fondness for hunting, shooting, fenceing, and such exercises, so carried his mind that he showed no inclination for his book, which obliged his preceptor often to execute his authority. The Marques, who was then at the head of the State, being, soone after his defeate at Inverlochy, obliged to travel southward, tooke his pupill along with him, designeing before he returned to settle him at the University of Oxford. Passing throw Stirling, he thought it proper to stop while he and his companey tooke some refreshment, but durst not venture out of his coach for the pestilence, which had already almost desolated that town, and raged with excessive furry through all Brittain. But Locheill, not easily bearing to be so long confined, stole unperceived out of the coach, and rambled through the town without any apprehension of the risk he run. Though his Lordship was the first that mist him, he was not much concerned, imagining that his ward was diverting himself with some of his retinue that were on horseback without; but finding upon enquirie that he was not with them, he became very uneasie, and sent several servants in quest of him; but was much more troubled when, after their return, they informed, that they found him in a house where the whole family was infected. However, a few days shewed that Locheill had, by the Divine mercy, escaped it.

His Lordship, after staying some days att Edinburgh, proceeded in his journy to England, found it convenient to stop at Berwick, not daring to venture furder into England, as well on account of the plague, as of the Civil Wars, which at the same time affected that countrey. Though the King's affairs were then declining, yet he had several armys on foot, and was possessed of many towns; and as his Majestie was in all parts victorious at first, so it is more than probable that he wowld have con-

tinued so, if the fatall union of the Covenanters' Army with that of the English Parliament had not easten the ballance. But the unhappy Battle of Nesby soon following, at once routed that unfortunate Monarch, and opned a door for tyraney and oppression.

The Marquess of Argyle stayed long att Berwick, where his ward often run the risk of getting his brains dashed out in quarrells which he was daily engadged in with the youth of that town ; so soon did he begin to act the patriot, and to imploy his courage in vindication of the honour of his countrey, which commonly occasioned these childish combats. But his patron, the Marquess, being at length informed of them, to prevent unhappy consequences, wowld not allow him to stirr out of doors, without a guard of two or three servants about him.

Montrose, in the meantime, haveing recruited his army, formed a designe of invadeing Fife, in order to suppress that rebellious country ; which, obligeing Argyle to return to Scotland, he left Berwick, and touching at Edinburgh, went streight to Castle Campbell, a strong house of his own, where he placed a garrison, in order to protect a considerable estate, which he had on the borders of Fife, called the parishes of Muchard and Dollars. While he stayed here, he had the mortifications to see all that countrey ravaged, and the villages laid in ashes, by the Macleans his neightbours, whom he had used in the like manner while they were absent in the service of the Crown.

This happned in Montrose his march from Kinross towards Stirling. His hatered to Argyle, as well on account of the cause he was engadged in, as of the injuries he had done him, prevailed with him to permitt the Macleans to step aside, and to comitt that outrage ; and these people were so incensed against the Marquess for the burning their Chief's estate, and other mischiefs which he had done to that family, that, to make quick work of it, they divided themselves into small partys, and so spreading themselves over the countrey, they spaired nothing that came in their way. One of these partys had the boldness to march up to the very walls of the Castle, and to insult the garrison, which, though six times their number, had not the courage so much as to fire a gun at them, or even to look them in the face. Locheill, who alwayes

attended his guardian, having attentively observed what passed, told the governour, that he and his garrison deserved to be hanged for their cowardice; and then addressing himself to Argyle, "For what purpose, my Lord," said he, "are these people keept here? Your Lordship sees the countrey destroyed, that they may be easily cutt to pieces, one by one, without their being capable to unite and assist one another; but your fellows are so unfitt for the bussiness for which they were brought here, that they have not courage so much as to look over the walls!" Argyle made little answer at that time; but when the Macleans were gone, after satisfieing their revenge to the full, he chid the governour, and turning him out of his office, putt another in his place. This he thought necessarey to cover the reproach that was brought upon himself, by being eye witnes of the desolation of his own lands, without atempting to relive them; and he inclined that the blame should fall upon the governour.

The Marquess, within a few days thereafter, putt himself upon the head of the Covenanters' Army, which being joyned by 1200 of his own Highlanders, and 3000 Fife men, they followed Montrose, who had crossed the river of Forth some five or six myls above Stirling, and waited for them at Kilsyth. Here they were defeated with a most terrible slaughter; and the consequence of this great victorey, wherein 7000 of the Covenanters were killed, was, that the whole kingdom submitted to the conqueror. The nobility and gentry flocked to him from all parts; the citys of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and generally all on the South and West sides of the Firth and Clyde, made their submissions; and the Marquess of Argyle, and others who satt at the helm, fled to Berwick for their safety.

Montrose having relived all who were confined by the Covenanters for their loyalty, dispatched the principall of the nobility and gentry to their several countreys, to conveen their vassals, and levey what forces they could, but especially horse, which he wanted most; and expected soon to be at the head of such an army, as wowld enable him to retrive his Majestie's affairs in England, which were then in a very bad situation.

He was much incouraged in his designs by the arivall of Sir Robert Spotiswood, Secretary of State for Scotland, from the King, a person of

great honour and merit, ane eminent lawer, and an able statsman. He was sone to the famous Archbishop Spotiswood, and being in his younger years bred to the law, he made a good figure at the bar, and was afterwards advanced to the office of President of the Court of Session; wherein he accquired great reputation by his integrity and knowledge. When the Rebellion brock out, he relived to the King, and upon the Earl of Lannerk's defection, was made Secretary of State. He brought a commission from his Majesty to Montrose, constituting him Captain-General and Deputy-Governour of Scotland, with ample powers to hold Parliaments, creat Knights, &c.; and soon thereafter falling into the enemy's hands, he, for this very peice of service, lost his head, in the manner that shall be by and by related.

Thus invested with the royall authority, Montrose issued out writs for calling a Parliament, which he appointed to meet at Glasgow upon the 20th of October thereafter. But before that time, the scene changed, and his enemys soon effected, by their treachery, what they cowld not doe by their valour; for these that fled to Berwick, having wrote to David Lesslie, who commanded the Scots horse in the service of the English rebells, then imployed in the seige of Heriford in Wales, to march speedily to their relief, he returned answer, that he would soone come with such a body of good troops as wowld cutt Montrose to pices; and desired them to endeavour, in the meantime, to draw him furder Southward. This they not only effected, by means of some treacherous Lords, who pretended great loyalty to the King, but also by proper instruments, raised a kind of mutiny in his army. Macdonald, who commanded the Irish, and whom Montrose had knighted but a few days before, was the first that left him with the greatest part of those troops, under pretence of revenging his father's death, whom he said Argyle had murdered. The Athol men, and other Northern Highlanders, likewaise followed his example; and in a few days thereafter he was obliged to permitt the rest to retire to their several homes for some days, in order to repair their houses, which the enemy had burnt; whereby his army was reduced to 700 foot, and 200 gentlemen on horseback, who had lately joyned him.

However, with these he marched to Philliphaugh, where matters were so mannaged by these traiterous Lords, who pretended to be his friends, that he was surprized and defeated by David Lesslie, who tooke the advantage of a fogy morning, and inclosed and surrounded him with 6000 horse, before it was heard he was in that neightbourhood. Montrose himself escaped with about 150 horse; and his foot withdrew to a little hold which they mentained till quarters was granted them by Lessly, but, being disarmed and brought to a plain, they were all inhumanly butchered by the instigation of the barbarous preachers that attended him.

Among others were taken the Earl of Heartfell, predecessor of the Marquis of Annandale, the Lords Drummond and Ogilby, Sir Robert Spotiswood, William Murray, brother to the Earl of Tullibardine, Alexander Ogilby of Inverwharrity, and Collonell Nathaniell Gordon, whom they reserved for a more solemn death. They executed three of them at the cross of Glasgow, to witt, Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbit, and Inverwharrity, though but a youth, scarse 18 years old; and Mr David Dick, one of their principall apostles, was so pleased with the sight of this trajedy, that he said, in a rapture of joy, "The work goes bonnily on!" which afterwards passed into a proverb.

The Parliament meeting at St Andrews, upon the 26th November thereafter, they brought the rest of the prissoners thither to receive their doom. The Marquess of Argyle brought Locheill with him to this bloody assembly. Though that gentleman was yet too young to make any solid reflections on the conduct of his guardian, yet he soon conceived an aversion to the crewelty of that barbarous faction. He had a custome of visiteing the state prissoners as he travelled from city to city; but as he was ignorant of the reasons why they were confined, so he cowld have no other view in it but satisfie his curiosity; but he had soon an opportunity of being fully informed.

The first that were appointed to open the trajedy was the Earl of Heartfell and the Lord Ogilby. But the last having had the good fortune to make his escape on the night preceeding the day designed for his execution, by exchaingeing cloaths with his sister, who supplyed his place till he was gone; and Argyle, conceiving that he was favoured by

the Hamiltons, his relatives, did, in meer spite to them, safe the Earl of Hartfell, whose blood they thristed for.

Ogilby's escape occasioned Sir Robert Spotiswood and the other two who were under sentance of death with him, to be confined in so strick a manner, that even their nearest friends and relations were discharged access. Locheill had, after his usewall manner, formed a designe of seeing them before their execution ; and the difficulty of effecting it increased his curiosity, and added to his resolution. He took ane opportunity, when the Marquess was bussy, and walking alone to the castle, where they were confined, he called for the Captain of the Guard, and boldly demanded admittance. The Captain, doubtfull what to doe, and excuseing himself by the strickness of his orders, "What!" said Locheill, "I thought you had knowen me better than to fancy that I was included in these orders! In plain terms, I am resolved not only to see these gentlemen, but expect you will conduct me to their apartments." These words he spoke with so much assurance, that the Captain, afraid of Argyl's resentment if he dissobliged his favourite, ordered the doors to be opned, and leading the way into Sir Robert's room, excused himself that he could not stay, and retired.

That venerable person appeared no way dejected, but received his visitant with as much cheerfulness as if he had enjoyed full liberty. He viewed him attentively all over ; and having informed himself who he was, and of the occasion of his being in that place, "Are you," said he, "the sone of John Cameron, my late worthy friend and acquaintance, and the grandchield of the loyall Allan M'Coildui, who was not only instrumentall in procuring that great victorey to the gallant Marquess of Montrose, which he lately obtained at Inverlochy, but likewaise assistant to him in the brave actions that followed, by the stout party of able men that he sent along with him?" And then, imbraceing him with great tenderness, he asked how he came to be putt in the hands of the Marquess of Argyle? And Locheill, having satisfied him as well as he could— "It is surprizeing to me," said he, "that your friends, who are loyall men, should have intrusted the care of your education to a person so opposite to them in principles, as well with respect to the Church as to

the State! Can they expect you will learn any thing at that school but treachery, ingratitude, enthusiasm, creuelty, treason, disloyalty, and avarice?"

Locheill excused his friends, and answering Sir Robert, that Argyle was as civil and carefull of him as his father cowd possibly be, asked him why he charged his benefactor with such vices? Sir Robert answered, that he was sorey he had so much reason; and that, though the civility and kindness he spoke of were dangerous snares for one of his years, yet he hoped, from his own good disposition, and the loyalty and good principals of his relations, he wowld imitate the example of his predecessors, and not of his patron. He then proceeded to open to him the history of the Rebellion from its first breacking out, and gave him a distinct view of the tempers and charracters of the different factions that had conspired against the Mytre and Crown; explained the nature of our constitution, and insisted much on the piety, innocence, and integrety of the King. In a word, he omitted no circumstance that he judged proper to give a clear idea and conception of the state of affairs, which he related with great order. Locheill was surprized at the relation, and listened with attention. Every part of it affected him; and he felt such a strange variety of motions in his breast, and conceived such a hatred and antipathy against the perfideous authors of these calamitys, that the impression continued with him during his life.

Sir Robert was much pleased to observe that his discourse had the designed influence. He conjured him to leave Argyle as soon as possibly he could; and exhorted him, as he valued his honour and prosperity in this life, and his immortal hapiness in the nixt, not to allow himself to be seduced by the artefull insinuations of subtile rebells, who never want plausible pretexts to cover their treasons; nor to be ensnaired by the hypocriticall sanctity of distracted enthusiasts; and observed, that the present saints and apostels, who arrogantly assumed to themselvs a title to reform the Church, and to compell mankind to belive their impious, wild, and indiggested notions, as so many articles of faith, were either excessively ignorant and stupid, or monsterously selfish, perverse, and wicked. "Judge alwayes of mankind," said he, "by their actions; there is no

knowing the heart. Religion and virtue are inseperable, and are the only sure and infalible guids to pleasure and happiness. As they teach us our several dutys to God, to our neightbour, to our selvs, and to our King and countrey, so it is impossible that a person can be indued with either, who is deficient in any one of these indispensible duties, whatever he may pretend. Remember, young man, that you hear this from one who is to die to-morrow, for endeavouring to perform these sacred obligations, and who can have no other intrest in what he says, but a reall concern for your prosperity, hapiness, and honour!"

Several hours passed away in these discourses before Locheill was aware that he had stayed too long. He tooke leave with tears in his eyes, and a heart bursting with a swell of passions which he had not formerly felt. He was nixt conducted to the appartment of Collonell Nathaniel Gordon, a hansom young gentleman, of very extraordinary qualities, and of great courage and fortitude; and having condoled with him for a few moments, he went to that of William Murray, a youth of uncommon vigour and vivacity, not exceeding the nineteenth year of his age. He bore his missfortune with a heroick spirit, and said to Lochiell, that he was not affraid to die, since he died in his duty, and was assured of a happy immortality for his reward. This gentleman was brother to the Earl of Tulliebardine, who had intrest enough to have saved him; but it is affirmed by cotemporary historians, that he not only gave way to, but even promotted, his tryall, in acquanting the Parliament, which then demurred upon the matter, that he had renounced him as a brother, since he had joyned that wicked crew, (meaning the royallists,) and that he wowld take it as no favour to spare him. Of such violence was that faction, as utterly to extinguish humanity, unman the sowle, and drain off nature herself. And it may be observed, that an ungoverned zeale for religion is more fruitfull of mischief than all the other passions putt together.

The nixt day the bloody sentance was executed upon these innocents. Two preachers had, for some days preceeding, endeavoured to prepare the people for the sacrafice, which, they said, "God himself required, to expiate the sins of the land!" And because they dreaded the influ-

ence that the dieing words of so eloquent a speaker as Sir Robert Spotiswood might have upon the hearers, they not only stopt his mouth, but tormented him in the last moments of his life with their officious exhortations and rapsodies.

Locheill beheld the trajedy from a window opposite to the scaffold, in companey with the Marquess and other heads of the faction. The scenes were so moveing that it was impossible for him to conceal his excessive griefe, and indeed the examplearey fortitude and resignation of the sufferrers drew tears from a great maney of the spectators, though prepossessed against them as accursed wretches, guilty of the most enormous cryms, and indicted by God himself, whose Providence had retaliated upon themselves the mischiefs they had so often done to his servants.

When the melancholy spectakle was over, Locheill, who still concealed the visite he had made them, tooke the freedom to ask my Lord Argyle "what their cryms were? For," said he, "nothing of the criminall appeared from their behaviour. They had the face and courage of gentlemen, and they died with the meekness and resignatione of men that were not consious of guilt. We expected to have heard an open confession of their cryms from their own mouths; but they were not allowed to speak, though I am informed that the most wicked robbers and murderers are never debared that freedom!"

His Lordship, who was surprized to hear such just and natural observations come from so young a person, and willing to efface the impressions that such objects commonly make upon generous minds, employed all his arte and eloquence, whereof he was a great master, to justifie the conduct of his party, and to paint the actions of his antagonists in the most odious collours. And because he on no other occasion, that we hear of, ever endeavoured to byass the mind of his pupill either in favours of one faction or other, I shall here recite a few of the particulars, which will give the reader some light into the policys and arguments made use of by that party in defence of their procedure:—He said, that the behaviour of the sufferers did not proceed from their innocence, but from certain confirmed oppinions and principils which were very mischivious to the publick, and had produced very fatall effects;

That the eryms of robbry, murder, theft, and the like, were commonly comitted by mean people, and were too glaring, ugly, and odious in their nature, to bear any justification, and that, therefor, it was for the benefite of mankind that the criminal should be allowed to recite them in publick ; because the designe was not to make converts, but to strick the audience with horrour : That the Provost did wisely, in not allowing the criminals to speake, and especially Sir Robert Spotiswood, for he was a man of very pernitious principals, a great statesman, a subtile lawyer, and very learned and eloquent, and, therefore, the more capable to deduce his wieked maxims and dangerous principales in such an artfull and insinnuating manner, as wowld be apt to fix the attention of the people, and to impose upon their understanding : There is such a simpathy in human nature, and the mind is so naturally moved by a melancholy object, that whatever horour we may have at the cryme, yet we immediatly forgett it, and pity the criminall when he comes to suffer : The mind is then so softned, that it is very apt to take such impressions as an artefull speaker is inclined to impress upon it : The misery of his condition is an advocate for his sincerity ; and we never suspect being imposed upon by a person who is so soon to die, and who can have no intrest in what he endeavours to convince us of ; and yet experience shows us great numbers who dye in the most palpible and pernitious errors, which they are as anxious to propogate even at the point of death, as they were formerly when their passions were most high.

His Lordship then proceeded to open the cause of the wars, and accused the King and his Ministers as the sole authors. He alleaged that the Massacre of the Protestants in Ireland was by his Majestie's warrand : That all the oppressions in England, the open encroachments upon the civil and ecclesiasticall libertys of Scotland, and all their other grivances, were the effects of the King's assumeing an absolute and tyranical authority over the lifes, libertys, and propertys of the subject : He inveyed against Montrose and his followers, not only as the abettors of slavery and tyrany, but as common robbers, and the publick enemys of mankind : He said, that the malefactors who were executed were guilty of the same cryms, and that they justly suffered for murder, robery, sacra-

lege, and rebellion: In a word, he plead his cause with such a perswasive eloquence, and with such seeming force of argument and reason, that his discourse wowld have doubtless made dangerous impressions upon the mind of his young pupill, if it had not been wholly prepossessed by the more solid reasonings of Sir Robert Spotiswood. That great man had fully informed him of all that was necessarey to prevent his being thereafter imposed upon; and there is such a beautifull uniformity in truth, that it seldome misses to prevail with the generous and unprejudiced.

But Locheill did not then think it proper to return much answer, or to open his true sentiments of the matter. All he said was, that he was informed that Montrose was a very brave man, and that, though he had killed many in battle, yet he never heard of any that he had putt to death in cold blood: That he wondered that so good a man as the King was said to be could be guilty of so much wickedness; and that he believed it either to be the missrepresentations of his enemys, or the doeings of these that mannaged for him: That he was too young, but he thought it hard that any man should suffer for what he believed to be true; and that if the gentlemen whom he saw goe to death with so much courage, were guilty of no other crimes but fighting for the King whom they ouned for their master, and differing in points of religion, he thought that our laws were too severe!

Locheill, after this, resolved to take the first opportunity of returning to Lochaber. He was now 17 years old; and the horrour of so maney executions, the injustice he thought done to the King, and the aversion he had conceived against his enemys, inflamed him with a violent desire of exerting himself in that cause, and of joining Montrose, who now again began to make a figure.

But, by this time, the unfortunate King was reduced, not knowing how to dispose upon himself. He retired from Oxfoard, which was then goeing to be beseiged, in the disguise of a servant, attended by two of his domesticks, and desperatly threw himself into the arms of the Scots army at Newark.

But these impious rebells, instead of being brought to a sense of their duty by the King's misfortunes, were so lost to all shame and humanity,

that they made their advantage of his miserys; and obligeing him first to order Montrose to disband, they stript him of all that their insatiable avarice and ambition could demand, and at last sold him to the English Parliament. Trew it is, that the clamours of the nation, which was generaly loyall, and the fears that the English, who were then in a treaty with the King, wowld adjust matters with his Majesty, obliged them at last to come to an agreement with him, in spight of their mad Clergy. The issue was, that a noble army was soon raised, wherewith they invaded England, under the command of the Duke of Hamilton; but he being as defective in conduct as he was in loyalty, suffered himself to be surprized and routed at Prestoun, in a most shamefull manner. This army was never properly engadged; and was so far from having been drawn up in the order of battle, that there was no less than 38 miles between its front and its rear! Besides, the chief Commanders were leading traytors; and non had a commission in it, that had not taken the Covenant, and appeared in arms against the King. Numberless were the prissoners that fell into Cromewell's hands in this scandelous engadgement; and among the rest, the Duke had the missfortune to be one, and at last to fall a sacrafice to these very rebells whom he had too faithfully served during his life.

This success of Cromewell's was very agreeable to Argyle; the Clergy, and others their adherents; who in the meantime raised an army, in the Western parts of the kingdom, in order to favour his designs; but upon the return of the fugitives from England, who were favoured in their retreat by General Monroe and a good body of veterian troops under his command, the differance was made up by a scandalous treaty; and Cromewell and Lambert were invited into Scotland to assist them in new-modelling the State, which Argyle and the Kirk governed after this, with an absolute authority, till the kingdom fell into the hands of the English. Cromewell, having got Berwick and Carlile (which had then Scots garrisons, and might have retarded his progress for a considerable time) delivered to him by their orders, he returned to London with his army, and mannaged matters so, by its assistance, that he forced

the Parliament to bring the King to an open tryall, like a common malefactor, and sone after to the block; by which, to the everlasting scandale of the British Nations, he removed the only obstacle that stood between him and his ambitious designs.

But to return: As soon as Montrose had disbanded, by the King's orders, Argyle returned to Inverarey, and had been soon followed by David Lessly and his army, they marched against Sir Alexander Macdonald and his Irish, who still stood out in Kintyre, being joyned by some of the people of that country. They were reckoned to be about 1400 foot, and two troops of horse. Macdonald skirmished with Lessly from morning till night; but the nixt morning, having boats prepared, he and his Irish fled into the Isles, and from thence into Ireland.

The countrey people submitted, upon quarters granted for life and liberty; but one Mr John Newy, a bloody preacher, seconded by the Marquess, prevailed upon Lessly to breake his word; and, after dissarming them, to putt them all to the sword without mercy. But Lessly, struck with horrour at so barbarous a carnage, turning about to Newy, who was walking with the Marquess over the ankles in blood, said, "Now, Mess-John, have you not, for once, gotten your fill of blood?" These words saved 18 persons, who were carryed prissoners to Inverarey, where they had been suffered to starve, if Locheill, who privately visited them once a day, had not ordered victuals to be secretly conveyed to them, by his own servants and others in whom he cowld confide.

Though the Marquess continued his civilitys to Locheill, yet he still grew more and more anxious to return home. He was unwilling, however, to dissoblige his kind guardian, by signifying his inclinations, but choose to write privately to his uncle to demand his return, under some pretence or other; and a promise to send him back, when his Lordship should think fitt. This occasioned a meeting of the principall gentlemen of the name of Cameron, who soon thereafter addressed the Marquess in a body, while he was reduceing Castle Tyrim, in Moydart, the last that held out for the King in those parts. His Lordship the more easily complyed, that he forsaw he wowld quickly have bussi-

ness enough upon his hands, in settling the State, which then chainged as often as the moon.

Locheill was then in the eighteenth year of his age, healthfull, and full of spirit, and grown up to the hight of a man, though somewhat slender. Though he had made no great progress in letters, yet his natural quickness, and the polite company among whom he had the good fortune to be bred, so formed his behaviour, and polished his conversation, that he seemed to anticipate several years of his age. The truth is, the want of ane accademicall education was an advantage to him, whatever losses he might afterwards sustain by that defect ; and the reason is obvious, for the time imployed in words and terms is of no furder advantage, than as it layes a fundation for the nobler acquisition of substantiall knowledge ; and befor youth advance to any tolerable reflection, they commonly exceed that age ; and in place of a just and solid reasoning, they acquire crude and undegisted notions, which renders them disagreeably conceited and self-sufficient. Besides, as their masters are generaly more conversant with books then with men, as no wonder if they are somewhat stiff and pedantick in their manners and conversation, and it is natural enough for youth to imitate the persons by whom they are taught : add to this, that those with whom they converse are such as themselves, and experience shows us, that some years must interveen before they can intirly lay aside the habits contracted in their youth, and form themselves into the mode, by the study of man and manners.—But as Locheill had the misfortune not to be much troubled with books, by the iniquity of the times, so his early introduction into good companey gave him this advantage above those of his years, that he was sooner ripe for company and action, and more adroit in the exercises befitting a gentleman, wherein the Marquess was very carefull to have him trained by expert masters.

He was conducted into Lochaber with great pomp by his Clan, whereof the greatest part mett him at the distance of an easie day's journey from home. They were much pleased to see their young Chief even exceed the accounts they had of him ; but what gave them greatest joy

was, that he still continued in the principals of his predicessors, without any corruption of byass to the faction among whom he was educated.

His greatest diversion was hunting, whereof he was so keen, that he destroyed all the wolfs and foxes that infested the countrey. He killed, with his own hand, the last wolf that was seen in the Highlands. He had a noble forrest that contrabuted much to his pleasure ; and the continwall fatigue and hardships that he exposed himself to, in that manly and hailthfull exercise, soon made him so vigorous and robust, and so easy under all manner of want and inconveniencys, that he not only enjoyed continwall hailth, but acquired strength and constitution enough to surmount all the difficultys that afterwards befell him.

He was so much delighted with the recitall of Montrose his actions, that he keept Collonell Cameron, who commanded the party of his Clan, that served under that hero, about him in all his diversions. That gentleman was in no small reputation for the gallantry of his behaviour ; and as he had received severall wounds in the service, so his Chief had intrest afterwards to procure him a pension from King Charles II., which he enjoyed during life. There was no circumstance of these wars but Locheill informed himself of, with the most inquisitive curiosity ; and was so charmed with the valure and conduct of the illustrious General, that he often bewailed his misfortune, in the want of opportunity of being trained up in that noble school : but, being still in hopes that so generous a patriot wowld not long delay to make another vigorous effort for the relief of his miserable countrey, he resolved chierefully to joyn him at the head of his Clan. Nor was he much out in his conjectures, though the event did not answer, as we shall see by and by.

The first occasion he had of acting the Chief was against Macdonald of Keppoch, a gentleman who commands a tribe of the Macdonalds in the braes or mountainous parts of Lochaber. The quarell proceeded from Keppoch, who, in contempt of his youth, and the lasie temper of his uncle, refused to pay an annuity due on a mortgage which Locheill had on a certain portion of his estate, called Glenroy ; but the young Chief having invaded his countrey, at the head of some hundreds of the

Camerons, Keppoch, though prepared to oppose with all the force he cowld raise, yet seeing the other resolute, thought it wiser to doe him justice than to allow matters to be pushed to an extremity.

An errand of the same nature soon thereafter browght him into Cnoidard, [Kuoidart ?] M'Donald of Glengary, a Chief of considerable note in that neightbourhood, was proprietar of the countrey ; and, upon some pretext or other, refused to pay to Locheill some arrears of few-duty, or yearly revenue, which he owed to him as his supperior of that countrey. However, the dispute ended in a treaty, which Glengarry observed so well, that Locheill was never thereafter putt to furder trouble on that account.

Locheill had, all this time, the pleasure to see his people happy in a profound peace, while the rest of the kingdom groaned under the most crewell tyraney that ever scourged and afflicted the sons of men. The jayles were cram'd full of innocent people, in order to furnish our governours with blood, sacrafices wherewith to feast their eyes ; the scaffolds daily smoked with the blood of our best patriots ; anarchey swayed with an uncontroverted authority, and avarice, crewelty, and revenge, seemed to be Ministers of State. The bones of the dead were digged out of their graves, and their living friends were compelled to ransome them att exorbitant sums. Such as they were pleased to call Malignants, they were taxed and pillaged att discretion, and if they chanced to prove the least refractorey or deficient in payments, their persons or estats were immediatly seazed.

The Committee of the Kirk satt at the helm, and were supported by a small number of fanaticall [persons,] and others who called themselves the Committee of the Estats, but were truely nothing else but the bar barons executioners of their wreath and vengeance. Nor were they ill satisfied with their office, on account of the profits it brought them, by fines, sequestrations, and forfeiturs, besides the other oppertunities it gave them of amassing ritches. Every parish had a tyrant, who made the greatest Lord in his district stoop to his authority. The Kirk was the place where he keept his court ; the pulpit his throne or tribunall from whence he issued out his terrible decrees ; and 12 or 14 soure,

ignorant enthusiasts, under the title of elders, composed his councill. If any, of what quality so ever, had the assurance to dissobey his edicts, the dreadfull sentence of excommunication was immediately thundred out against him, his goods and chattells confiscated and seazed, and he himself being looked upon as actwally in the possession of the devill, and irretriveably doomed to eternal perdition, all that conversed with him were in no better esteem.

The late Invasion under Duke Hamilton gave them a good opportunity of displaying their authority ; for that attempt having been made against their will, they compelled every one that escaped to sitt severall Sundays in sackcloath before them, mounted, as a spectakle of reproach and infamey, upon the stool of repentance, in view of "the elect," for so they call the most zealous of their dissiples ; and to undergo such other pennance as they were pleased to impose. But in spight of all this, the generall zeall of the nation to have back their King was so great, that those at the helm were forced to comply ; but they tooke care to clogg the treaty with such rude and barbarous conditions, that his Majesty wowld not have consented to their terms, if he had not been over-ruled by the advice of the Queen his mother, and of the Prince of Orange, his brother-in-law.

But before the King arrived, they gave him a proofe of the treatment he was to expect, and entertained the nation with a trajedy that struck all good men with the outmost horrour ; for the great Marquess of Montrose having landed, about the begining of the year 1650, with a few forreigners and some arms and ammunition, which he had made a shift to provide himself with, was surprized and defeated by the fatal dilligence of one Collonel Strachan, before he had time to gett to his friends, the loyall Clans, who were all prepared to have joyned him. Many of the Scots officers who attended him were made prissoners, and he himself fell into Strachan's hands by the treachrey of a villan whom he confided in. He was brought to Edinburgh, and after being insulted over, and treated with all the circumstances of cruelty that the malice of his enemys could contrive, he was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his head to be hung upon the Tolbooth of Edinburgh,

and his limbs on the most conspicuous citys of the kingdom. This great man dyed as he lived, with all the fortitude and magnanimity of a hero. When his sentance was read to him, he told his barbarous judges, that he was prouder to have his head sett upon the place it was appointed to be, than he could have been to have his picture hung in the King's bed-chamber: That he was so far from being troubled that his limbs were to be hung in four citys of the kingdome, that he heartily wished that he had flesh enough to be sent to every city in Christendom, as a testimoney of the cause for which he suffered! About forty of his officers, though generaly of the best blood of the nation, were at the same time executed in several quarters of the kingdom.

The King was no sooner arrived in the Forth, than he was, as a well-come, compelled to subscrive the Covenant; and two days thereafter all his servants were removed from him, and others, more to the teaste of the rulers, putt in their place. He was pestered perpetually by their clergy, and forced to attend their preachings and prayers, which, as they were commonly bitter invectives against the idolatry of his mother, the actions of his father, and his own malignity, could not but be very disquietfull to a young Prince of his genius and spirit. He was allowed to meddle in no affairs of state; but in other things he was treated with all the submission and respect due to a great King.

The English Parliament had exact information of all that past, and sent Cromewell with a powerfull and victorious army against them; nor doe our best historians scruple to affirm, that he was invited by the heads of the antimonarchial faction which governed all at Court, for, insteade of uniting their councills, and concerting reasonable measures for opposing that most formidable enemy, they tooke a course quite contrarey, and banished all the loyal party from the court and camp, admitting neither officer nor suldier that had served in Duke Hamilton's engadgement, to list in that body of troops which they soon drew together, and which, the Earl of Clarandon says, was plentifully provided with all things but conduct and courage!

The Preachers exercised the whole authority in this army, and promised victorey as confidently, and in as positive terms, as if God All-

mighty had directed them to declair it. The King was fond to have had the command ; but he was allowed no more but to see it for an hour or two, and then forcibly removed, the Ministers declaring, that the suldiers, who were delighted to see their prince, "trusted too much in the arm of flesh !"

Cromewell entered Scotland in Jully, and wheu he came up with the enemy, he found them so advantageously posted near Dunbar, that he run the greatest risk of being either starved or defeated, had they known how to have made use of the advantage ; but, depending upon their intrest with God Allmighty, and the power of their prayers, they foolishly decamped, and followed the retreating enemy, who turned upon them and defeated them with a terrible slaughter. By this bloody victorey, Cromewell became master of all that fruitfull countrey on the south sides of the Forth and Clyde.

Though the King had no less reason to rejoice in the destruction of so great a number of his enemys, yet he was still so uneasie, that he once attempted to have made his escape from them to General Middletoun, in the Highlands, who was prepared to receive him upon the head of the loyall Clans ; but his Majestie, having been prevailed upon to return, he was afterwards used with more discretion.

Matters being now mannaged with some more moderation, our politicians consented that the loyall party should be received into the army, on condition, that such of them as had not given satisfaction to the Kirk for serving the crown, should consent to humble themselves, and suffer pennance for that cryme ; but, at the same time, they recommended it to the collonells of the shyrs, (as they are termed in the act,) not to make choise of such to serve as officers, if they could find others well qualified to supply their places. Many chose to submitt, rather than to lose ane oppertunity of serving the King, who, on his part, did every thing in his power to ingratiat himself with his fanatick masters, and succeeded so far, that some of the more moderate begun to inculcat, from the pulpit, the obedience due from subjects to their Sovereign. Many diverting storys are told of their behaviour to his Majesty ; nor seems it much out of the road to intertain the reader with one example,

that he may be thereby enabled to form some judgement of their intolerable insolence.

His Majesty, not being permitted to concern himself much in his oun affairs, he had but little bussiness upon his hands ; and it seems no great wounder if a prince of his age and vivacity now and then diverted himself with such of the fair sex as excelled in spirite and beauty. As he had been often repremanded for those freedoms, so he was obliged to be on his guard for fear of giving too great offence to his imperious governours ; but often forgeting himself, it happned that some of the fraternity passing by to one of their meetings, chanced to observe his Majesty, in a window of his Pallace, fondling and toying with one of his fair mistresses, in a manner that they tooke to be very undecent and sinfull to one who had taken the holy Covenant. They were no sooner mett, than their moderator, in his prayers, told over the whole story to God Allmighty ; and after he had done, the first thing that was proposed to be considered was, How the King should be punished, for giveing so much scandall to the godly ? Matters were at first carried so high, that nothing less wowld serve, than that his Majesty should be cited to compear befor them, and be obliged to make an publick acknowledgement of his iniquity. Some went still furder, and moved, that since God was no respecter of persons, his Majestie should therefore be compelled to doe public penance before the Congregation of the Elect, and suffer a rebuke from the pulpite, which, in the stile of that time, was called " The Chair of Verity." But more moderate counsells privailling, in the end it was carryed by a majority, that one of their number should be deligated to reprimand him in his chamber.

In these Assemblys there were still some sober and wise men, who, being heartily grieved at such insolent proceedings, did often, by their prudence, prevent the consequences. One of these, observing that none of the brotherhood seemed fond of executeing the commission, and rightly judgeing, that, in place of offending, it gave him an opportunity of obligeing his Majesty, tooke an adroit method of getting himself nominated to be the person. Being introduced to the King, who received him very graciously, he, in a very civill and submissive manner, informed

his Majesty, that he came upon a very impertinent errand from his bretheren, which he thought needless to communicat ; but humbly begged that his princely goodness would pardon his presumption, in suggesting an old proverb, which imported, that "when one inclined to kiss his neightbour's wife, it was proper to shutt all the doors and windows !" The King, who was very quick, easily understood the meaning of the whole, and not only thanked the Minister for his discretion in acquitting himself of his commission, but ever after distinguished him, and in the end promotted him to a bishoprick.

The act for leveying another army was, in the meantime, published over the kingdome ; and the Clans were inveeted to serve in it. His Majesty was pleased to honour some of the principall Chiefs with particular letters ; and because that to Locheill bears so lively an immage of the miserable state of that part of the countrey that Cromewell possessed, it seems proper to insert it at full length.

"Charles R.

"Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, and Trusty and Well-beloved, wee greet you well.—The condition and calamity of this kingdom cannot but be too well known unto yow. Ane insolent enemy having gott so great ane advantage against the forces that were raised for the defence of it, and having overrun the parts upon the South sides of the Forth and the Clyde, and having of late also gotten into their hands the Castle of Edinburgh, by the treachery of those that commanded in it ; which city they before desolated, ruined the Church, and maliciously and insolently burnt our Palace there. These injureys, and the maney other grivious pressures lying upon our good subjects in the Sowth, East, and Westeren Shyrs, cry alowd for relief, assistance, and revenge. Therefore we have, with the Estates of our Parliament, been consulting and adviseing for remedys ; and have emited the act of levey which comes to your Shyrs, and which we thought fitt to accompaney with our oun letter : Conjureing and desireing you, by all the bands of your duty to God, love to your countrey, and respect to our person, that yow will speedely and effectwally rise and putt yourselves in arms for the relief of

your distressed bretheren, and to revenge their bloodshed by the sword in diverse corners of the countrey; besides the multitudes starved to death in prissons, and famished and dying every day for want of bread in each town and village. These things, we know well, exceedingly affect yow; therefore we will not lay any thing more before yow but our own resolution, which is, either, by the blessing and assistance of God, to remedy and recover these evils and losses, revenge what these insolent enemys have crewelly and wickedly done, vindicat this hitherto unconquered Nation from the ignominy and reproach it lyes under; or to lay down our life in the undertaking, and not to survive the ruine of our people, for whose protection and defence we wowld give, if we had them, as many lives as we have subjects. And we are assured and perswaded you will not be wanting in your duties, but will chearfully come to offer your lives for the defence of your Religion, your countrey, your King, your own honours, your wives, your children, your liberty, and will be worthey your forefathers and predecessors, and like them in their virtue, and brave defending their countrey. Wee will, therefore, in assurance you will strive who shall be soonest in sight of the enemy, march with the present forces we have towards Stirling, (where the nixt assault will certainly be,) and either make good that place till yow come to us, or die upon the place; and if the handfull we carrey with us shall be overborn by greater numbers throwgh your slackness in comeing to our assistance, yow will have the shame that yow have not already come upon the call of a redoubled defeat given to your naturall and covenanted bretheren, and that yow have not now used extraordinary dilligence, being so earnestly prest by your King on his part. But we confidently expect from yow all imaginable expressions and effects of duty, dilligence, loyalty, and courage. And so we bid yow heartily fairwell. Given att our Court att Perth, the 24th of December 1650, and in the second year of our reign."—Directed on the back, "To our Right Trusty, and Right Well-beloved Ewen Cameron of Locheill, and to the rest of the Gentlemen and Friends of the Name of Cameron."

Locheill was fully determined to exert himself on this occasion, and designed early in the Spring to have joyned the King; but meeting with

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several obstructions in raising such of his Clan as lived on other people's lands, he applyed to the Marquess of Argyle, who procured a warrand from the Committee of State, impowering him to raise his men wherever he could find them.

The nation concurred so heartily in this service, that there was soon a good army drawn together. His Majesty himself had the name of General, though he had little of the power. David Lessly was appointed his Lieutenant-General, and Middletoun commanded the horse, whereof the greatest part were gentlemen volunteers. The army was in the begining very numerous, and appeared every way equall to the enemy, expressing on all occasions the greatest keeness to be led against them; but they were so wearyed out by delays, starved with hunger, and the order of discipline so much neglected, that many of them being near home, and without pay or any manner of subsistance, except what they were obliged to take by force, dropt away. Good occasions of fighting were neglected, by the cowardice or treachery of their fanatick Generalls, and the best and bravest of their troops sent upon desperate and ill-concerted exploits; but the worst of all was, that they were in perpetwall division among themselves; and all their councills and designs betrayed to the enemy.

The King's army was encamped in the Park of Stirling, and had Cromewell in view during the moneths of June and Jully. There passed several light skirmashes between considerable partys of them, in all which, the King's troops beheaved with great bravery; but his numbers were now so decreased, that he durst not engadge in a generall battle. The enemey, being possessed of all on the South side of the Firth, the King had dispatched Major-Generals Brown and Holburn, with a brave body of 4000 horse and foot, to guard a passage of the Firth at Inverkeithing, in order to prevent the enemy's crossing the river; nor wowld they have failled to have made good their post, had their commanders been as honest as their troops were stout and loyall. The foot were all chosen men, and consisted mostly of such of the Clans, and other Highlanders as had very often signalized themselves under the great Montrose; and it is to this day affirmed by many, that they were sent to

that post on purpose to gett their throts cutt, in meer resentment of their haveing been so faithfull to that hero.

The fanatick Generals, I have named, are said to have corresponded with Fairfax, who commanded nixt to Cromewell, and who was allowed to transport his troops over that Firth, before it was known that he designed it. The gallant Sir Hector Maclean of Dowart, with above 700 of his Clan, were sacrifised on the spott. Such was the courage of these brave people, that they often repulsed the enemy, till at last, overpowered by numbers, they fell, every man in their ranks. Few or none escaped the carnage, except the treacherous Generalls who fled with the horse upon the first appearance of the enemy. The Buchanans likewaise sufferred much; but many of them having deserted their colours before their march from Stirling, their loss of men was the less considerable. Nor did the enemy buy their victorey at a cheap rate; but they wowld have payed much dearer for it, had the Highlanders been putt into a posture of defence before they were attacked; but that does not seem to have been the design of their Generalls, who gave themselves no trouble about their safety, but left them a prey to their mercieless enemys.

The destruction of so maney of the King's best troops spread in a few days over the whole kingdom, and mett Locheill, as he was on his march with about 1000 of his men, to joyn the Royall Standart. Whither the occasion of so long a delay proceeded from the distrust he had of those that governed the King's councills, or from some other reason, I know not; but before he could reach Stirling, Cromewell intercepted his march, and the King was obliged to pursue such measures as nothing but the desperate state of his affairs cowld putt him upon.

His army, which at first amounted to near 30,000 men, was now duindled away to 10,000; and his enemy, by crossing the Forth, having gott between him and his Northern friends, from whom he soone expected a powerfull reinforcement, his Majesty, by the advice of his counceill of war, tooke up an adventerous resolution of marching into England; and began his march so quickly, that he was a good way advanced before the enemy had the least notice of it. He had reason to expect that his small army wowld

encreass all the way as he marched by the resorte of his English subjects; but he was dissapointed by the unseasonable zeale of the Committee of Ministers that fataly attended him: For they, observing that the Covenant was little regairded, after they entered England, without the King or any of his Councill's knowledge, sent orders to Generall Massay, who marched before with a body of the English, in order to advertise the Loyalists of his Majesty's advance, to publish a Declaratione importing the King and his army's zeall for the Covenant, and discharging him to receive or intertain any soldiers among his troops, but such as would subscribe it. Though immediat orders were sent to countermand the publication, yet it tooke air, and the King's precipitant motion deprived those that had lived at any distance, of an opportunity of being better informed, till it was too late.

Cromewell left Scotland about three days after the King, and tooke time to augment his army, before he attacked him in the city of Worcester. Lessly, instead of acting the part of a Generall, became so stupid and benum'd upon the enemy's advance, that he cowld give no orders, which soon putt all into the outmost confusion. He was much suspected of treachery; but the matter was never examined into. Middletoun, who commanded the horse, which almost consisted of brave gentlemen volunteers, made a stout and gallant resistance. He made a great slaughter among the enemy, and bate them in all points where he was attacked; but great numbers of his troops being at last killed, himself wownded, and Duke Hamilton, who charged on the same body, having his leg brocke by a musquett shott, he was overpowered and made prissoner, with many of his principall officers, and others, who deserved a better fate.

The King escaped by the miracolous interposition of Divine Providence; and, after lurking maney days from house to house in a peasant's habite, happily got over into France, in November thereafter.

Many of the horse made good their retreat into Scotland; but the poor foot were either killed in the battle, knocked on the head by the countrey people, as they endeavoured to gett home, or, after a miserable confinement, transported for slaves into forraign Plantations. The M'Leods

lost many men in this fatall engadgement, and several others of the Clans shared their fate; nor were the Scots at home in a much better condition, for Cromewell having left General Monk behind him, with 10,000 men to subdue that defenceless countrey, he gave him orders to seize and incarcerate as many of the nobility and gentry as he could get into his hands, to bridle the licentious tongues of the clergy, and to putt all to the sword that opposed him, nor to exempt any place that made resistance from a general plunder. All these rules he observed with the outmost rigour, and soon made himself as terrible as man could be.

This barbarous cruelty forced all those that escaped from Worcester, and others of the loyall gentry, to betake themselves to the mountains; from whence, as often as they had occasion, they sallyed doun in small partys, and surprized and cutt off such of the English as were detached in small commands, or that plundered the countrey. Their courage incressed with their success; and though they had not strength enough to engadge great bodys, being obliged to live dispersed, for want of provisions, yet they often watched, during the night, near Generall Monk's out-garrisons; and, surprizeing them in the morning, by various stratagems and tricks putt all to the sword, whereby they destroyed maney of the enemy. These gentlemen were generaly known by the name of Moss-troopers. They provided themselves in arms and horses, at the expence of the English; and the countrey willingly affoarded them provisions. Many hardy, brave, and memorable exploits are related of this people. Their attempts were generally when the enemy were in greatest security; and the terrour of them spreading universally over the kingdome, they came to be esteemed the protecters of the countrey by saving the poor people from being plundered.

But the only body of men that stood out for the King, and rendered themselves considerable, were those that putt themselves under the command of the Earl of Glencairn, in the Northern parts of the Highlands. He was a Lord of great gallantrey and courage; and though he was at first, by the giddiness of the times, carryed into all the madness and extravaganceys of the rebellious Covenanters, yet, upon discovery that their impious designs were levelled against the Crown and Monarchey,

he became a sincere penitent, and joyned the King with a true zeal for his service, after his retreate from Worcester, where he behaved bravely. He sett up the Royall Standart about the beginning of winter thereafter, and early in the spring 1652 tooke the fields, at the head of such of the Clans and others as were willing to share his fate.

Locheill was the first Cheif that joyned him; and he having brought a body of 700 stout men with him, was soon followed by others; so that his little army began quickly to grow into such reputation, that several of the nobility, among whom was the Lord Lorn, eldest sone to the Marquess of Argyle, many Moss-troopers and Lowland gentrey repaired to him. They were likewaise joyned by Major-General Drummond, sone and heir to the Lord Maderty, who had lately returned from Muscovey, where, though he served in that quality with good reputation, yet the news of the King's being in Scotland at the head of an army drew him thither, in order to imploy his valour in defence of his countrey. Glencairn was much incouraged in his undertaking by General Monk's being seized with a violent seekness, which held him all winter, and reduced him to that weakness, that he was obliged to return into England for the repair of his hailth.

His Lordship was no sooner certified of the King's arrivall in France, than he and the gentlemen that were then with him dispatched one Mr Knox, an Episcopall Minister, the Lord Clarendon calls him a Viccar, a person well known to the King, with information to his Majesty of what they resolved to doe for his service, "with assurances (continues that elegant historian) that they wowld never swerve from their duty; and that they wowld be able, during the winter, to infest the enemy from their quarters; and that if General Middletoun might be sent to them, with some supply of arms, they wowld have an army ready again the Spring, strong enough to meett with Monk."

Though these gentlemen had heard of Middleton's escape from the Tower, yet they knew not then where he was; they therefore ordered Mr Knox to goe by London to visite the Lords and other prissoners in the Tower, and to take directions from them how he was to proceed. He had the good fortune to meet with Middletoun, who still continued

to lurk among his friends in that city ; but soone thereafter he found an opportunity of crosseing the seas, and, carrying Mr Knox with him, presented him to his Majesty.

The King was then in a most indegent condition, and was so far from being able to incourage his friends with the supplys they wanted, that he was much putt to it to find bread for his oun family ; but, notwithstanding of those straits, his Majesty sent Generall Middletoun soon thereafter into Holand, to try what he could doe by his credite among some Scots merchants and officers that resided there ; but this occasioning delay, Glencairn and his officers did, about the middle of Jully, again send over one Captain Smith ; who, having mett with many missfortunes and difficultys in his journey, cowld not deliver his commissions and letters till the middle of November thereafter.

By him, his Majesty sent a commission to the Earl of Glencairn to command the army till the General's arrivall, and returned a very gracious answer to the letter which the Chieffs had wrote to him from the mountains, of the 12th of Jully preceeding ; and assured them, that nothing should be wanting that he could possibly procure for their assistance and incouragement. He accquants them of Middleton's being sent into Holland, recommends unity and concord among themselves, in very pressing terms ; and, least he should have made some alterrations in the command that they had agreed among themselves to execute, he sent them blank commissions, authorizeing themselves to fill up the names. His Majesty concludes with recommending Captain Smith, the bearer, who, besides the faithfull discharge of his trust, was so modest as to choise rather to receive such a command as they should think fitt to assigne him, than to leave his name inserted in one of the commissions for a charge that his Majesty esteemed him worthey of.

In the distribution of these commissions, Locheill had that of a Collonell assigned him ; nor indeed could they well give him less, seing he brought more men with him than any other person in that army.

Colloneall Dean succeeded Monk in the command of the army ; but he was soon recalled to be Admirall of the Fleet, in the Dutch war ; and Collonell Lilburn, though much inferrior both in conduct and cour-

age, was intrusted with the government. Though he had an army of veterian troops, commanded by good officers, and all the Castles and strong places in the Highlands well garrisoned, yet he was so frighted with the news he daily received from the Highlands, that he sent most dismall accounts of the matter to the juncto that then governed, and putt them into some consternation. By their orders, he marched with all his forces towards the Highlands. But that Lord beheaved with such prudence and conduct, that though his army did not exceed 3000 men, yet he often repulsed the enemy with great bravery, and putt Lilburn to more trouble than was found in the reduction of all the rest of the kingdome.

It was here that Locheill, then about the twenty-second year of his age, gave the first specimen of his vigour and courage. He was alwayes the first that offered himself in any dangerous peice of service; and in all that he undertooke accquitted himself with such conduct and valour, that he gained great glory and reputation. His greatest fault was, an excess of forwardness; and, if his advice had been followed, Glencairn wowld have quickly putt all to the hazard of a battle; but others, not being so fond of fighting, it was thought honourable enough to defend themselves against so formidable an enemy.

About the end of this year, Locheill and his men were in imminent danger of being all cutt in peices, on the following occasion. Glencairn and his army having encamped themselves at a village called Tullich at Breamar, near a river of that name, Locheill and his men were posted at a pass which lay at some distance, in order to prevent their being surprized by the enemy, who were possessed of a garrison within a few miles of them. He placed out guards and centrys at proper places, whom he often visited in person; and, notwithstanding of his youth, did, in all his conduct, perform the part of a vigilent and prudent officer. Early the nixt morning, as he was sending for orders from the General, his scouts came to him in great heaste, with information that the enemy advanced at a quick pace, but they cowld not give any certain account of their numbers. Having given orders to call in his men from their several posts, he ascended a hill that was near him, and had a full view

of them. Lilburn was there in person, with his army, and having luckily made a halt, in order to form his troops, he gave Locheill time enough to advertise Glencairn, who immediately retreated to a marass or bogg at two miles distance ; where he secured himself from all danger of the enemy's horse, which he was most affraid of, but forgot to give Locheill orders to retire. This was occasioned by the confusion that often attends such allarms ; and it was particularly unlucky for Glencairn, that he had too many with him of equall quality with himself. These were for the most part so delicate, that they were unable to bear the hardships of such campaigns ; besides, that they were too proud and assumeing to obey commands, and were so splitt into factions that they distracted all his councills.

Locheill, in the meantime, posted his men so advantageously that he not only sustained the attack of the enemy, who charged him with great fury, but drove them back several times with considerable loss. One half of his men had bows ; and these he posted against the horse, which they galled exceedingly with their arrows, for they were excellent archers, and seldom missed their aim. The ground was rugged and uneven, and covered with much snow, which not only rendered the horse in a manner useless, but also gave the foot suldiers very uneasie footeing. Besides, they cowld not attack him but in one place, he being posted in a narrow passage betwixt two mountains. All these advantages abated much of the English fury ; and Locheill, finding that thay were not invincible, notwithstanding of their numbers, he drew out 200 of his men, whom, in the situation they were in, he could not otherwaise imploy ; and, having ordered a sufficient officer to mentain the pass with the rest, he, upon their head, charged a body of the enemy who were separated from their friends by a hill, and quickly brock them ; but, wanting men to support him, and affraid of being surrounded, he durst not pursue them.

The English General, perceiving that he could not force his passage, and angry at the loss of his men, whom the Highlanders killed without much danger to themselves, drew off about one-half of his troops, and, being conducted by guids, which he brought along with him, fetched a compass round the hills, and so got between Locheill and his friends.

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But by this time, Locheil's Quarter-master, whom he had sent after Glencairn for orders, happening to return, brought notice that his Lordship was now in absolute security, with orders to make the best retreat he cowld. Upon this, he retired gradwally up the hill with his face on both sides to the enemy, who durst not pursue him, on account of the ruchness [roughness] of the ground and the snow that covered it. The passage being thus opned, Lilburn drew up his own men and marched towards the Highland army; but, finding that he could not force them to an engadgement as they were then posted, and the season of the year not allowing him to continue in the field, he returned to Inverness, where he had his head-quarters; and by the way putt sufficient garrisons into the Castle of Rivan of Badenoch, and other strong houses, proper for his purpose. Locheill attended him for several miles, and as often as the ground favoured him, he harrassed them in their march, killed severall men and horse with his arrows and shott, and haveing seen them fairly out of that neightbourhood, returned in triumph to Glencairn, who received him as his deliverer.

This sharp conflict lasted for several hours; and though Locheill had some of his men killed and more wounded, yet the enemy lost six times as maney, besydes horses.

Early the nixt Spring, his Lordship again tooke the field; but his army, instead of increasseing, as he expected, daily diminished, being much disscouraged by the want of all manner of provisions and support; but more by the violent factions and divisions which still continued among them, and daily grew worse. Several gentlemen dropt away and made their peace, and many of the Moss-troopers choise rather to shift for themselves near their oun home, than to be thus tormented. Besides, they saw that there wowld be little fighting, where there were so many different oppinions. However, Glencairn keept up the face of an army till the arivall of Generall Middletoun; and though he durst not venture to engadge in a generall battle, yet he repulsed the enemy as often as he was attacked, bate up their quarters, destroyed and burnt several garrisons, and every way beheaved like a worthey and gallant man.

Locheile was the only person of note that keept himself disingadged from these factions ; for, in order to avoyde them, he chose allwayes the most distant posts, which often gave him occasion to be in action ; and the success he had, on all occasions, made the General no less fond of imploying him. Nor was that Lord forgetful of his honour in the accounts he sent his Majesty, this summer, of the state of his affairs in Scotland, as appears from the following Letter, wherewith the King was pleased to honour him, by the return of their express, which came to their hands about the end of that year :

"TO OUR TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED THE LAIRD OF LOCHEILL.

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, wee greet yow well. Wee are informed by the Earl of Glencairn with what notable courage and affection to us yow have beheaved yourself at this time of tryall, when our intrest, and the honour and liberty of your countrey, is at stake ; and therefore we cannot but express our hearty sense of such your good courage, and return yow our princely thanks for the same : And we hope all honest men, who are lovers of us or their countrey, will follow your example, and that yow will unite together in the wayes we have directed ; and under that authority we have appointed to conduct yow, for the prosecution of so good a work. So we doe assure yow we shall be ready, as soone as we are able, signally to reward your service, and to repair the losses yow shall undergoe for our service ; and so we bid yow fairwell. Given att Chantilly, the 3d day of November 1653, in the fifth year of our reigne."

Soon after dispatching the gentlemen by whom his Majesty sent this and other letters, Locheill was obliged to march to the reliefe of his oun countrey, which, he had certain information, was soon to be invaded by the enemy from Inverness. Glengary had, before this time, abandoned the service upon some discontent ; but appeared willing to joyn Locheill in the common defence of their countrey, and Keppoch also entered into that confederacey. Their meeting was at a place called

Glenturrit, where they agreed to raise all the men under their respective commands, and appointed their rendezvouze to be, upon the first accounts of the enemy's motion, upon the moore above Aberchalder, which is four miles from Killiwhimmine, where Fort-Augustus now stands, and about twenty from Inverness.

Many of Locheil's men live at a greate distance from Lochaber, which obliged him immediatly to send orders to conveen them. Locheill, at this time, had allowed his men to retire home for some days, not expecting to hear of the enemy so soone; but before they had time to come up, he was informed that the enemy were in motion. This gave him no small trouble; but, being in hopes that with the men he had about him, which were about 400, and the assistance he expected from Glengarey and Kappoch, he should be able to engadge them, or at least to harrasse and stope their advance till his oun people came up, he sett out without loss of time, and upon his arival, found Keppoch and his men att the place appointed; but there was no account of the other, though he lived in the neightbourhood.

Soone thereafter, the English troops advanced, and encamped on the plain below. They were about 1500 foot, and some troops of horse, commanded by Collonell Brayn. Curiosity pushing the two gentlemen to take a narrower view, they posted themselves at a place where they could descern all that passed, and were in the outmost surprize and confusion to see Glengary, whom they expected soone to be with them, walking and discourseing with the English Commander, in the very centre of his troops. Locheill was at a loss how to proceid in such a critical juncture, and became suspicious that Keppoch was also in the concert. Having, upon his return to his men, lett some passionate words drop in his anger, signifyeing as much, Keappoch endeavoured by all means to purge himself, giveing new assurances of his fidelity, and bitterly inveighing against his kinsman; but Locheill, answering smartly that he could not promise more than Glengarry had done the day before, and that he could not think himself safe, while he had reason enough to suspect, that if he attacked the enemy in the front, the M'Donalds wowld charge himself in the rear. Keppoch was so provocked, as indeed he

had some reason, that he left him in a frett, and returned home with his men.

The English shortly thereafter decamping, directed their march to the Wood of Glastery, at the other end whereof there is a narrow pass or defile, called the Pass of Clunes, where Locheill, depending upon the advantage of the ground, and the valour of his men, resolved to attack them. His intimate accquantance with these parts gave him an easie opportunity of getting before them with his nimble Highlanders, and of posting himself in the manner he had projected; but Collonell Brayn, being either advertized of, or suspecting Locheill's designs, (for Glengary still attended him,) thought it proper to stop when he came near the place, and to send him a message by one John Macdonald, a relation of Glengarry's, desireing liberty to march peaceably through the countrey, and assureing him that he had no designe of injureing either him or his people, if he was not provocked.

Locheill tooke some time to deliberat upon the matter with the gentlemen he had about him. His oun oppinion was, that he should return no answer, but notice and watch some other opportunity of engadgeing, wherewith these roads would furnish him many, before they returned; and if they stayed any time, the rest of his men wowld be with him, and enable him to attack them at all hazards. But his friends were of a different oppinion: They argued, that since his designs were now discovered, the enemy had strength enough to force their way; especially, seeing they had his oun neightbours to conduct, and perhaps to assist them; that the arrivall of his men, who had been sent for but one day before, was uncertain; and that since there was no injury to be done to the countrey, it wowld be wisest to allow them a free passage; that his cituation differed much from what it was the year before, when he defended the pass in Breamar, for there was not only a necessity of stopping the enemy, in order to save the army, which otherwayes wowld have been surprized, in the confusion they were in, and probably cutt to peices; but the season of the year, the snow that was on the ground, and the advantage of the scituation, rendered it practicable; but that there being no necessity of exposeing themselves just now, it wowld be

meer rashness and foolhardiness to provock ane enemy that offered them no injurey.

General Drummond, whom I have frequently mentioned, attended him in this expedition, as well on account of the hereditary friendship that still continued between their familys, as that Locheill inclined he should, to prevent disputes, command the confederated Clans, though he was dissapointed by Glengary's defection. This General being of the last oppinion, Locheill, after some more debate, gave way to the advice of his friends, but with great unwillingness. However, he keept in view of the enemy while they stayed in that countrey ; for having encamped one night beside the old Castle of Inverlochy, where, it afterwards appeared, they designed to place a garrison, they the nixt morning began their march back to Inverness ; Locheill still waiting on them, till they were out of his countrey, without giveing or receiving injury on either side.

The excuse that Glengary made afterwards for his defection was, that the sudden advance of the enemy having disconcerted their measures, he judged it wiser to submitt, and embrace the offers of peace that were made him, than to expose his country to rapine and plunder ; for, as he could not conveen his oun men, so Locheill cowld far less have time to draw his, that lived so remote, into a body, so as to make head against the enemy. The trewth of the matter was, that he, knowing that they did not designe to settle in his neightbourhood, thought himself not enough concerned in the quarrell, either to hazard his oun or the lives of his people on that occasion. This gave birth to such a dryness between the two Chiefs, that they were never thereafter sincerely reconciled. It is informed, that Glengary, who left Glencairn upon some pretended disgust, had some time before privatly submitted to Lilburn, and upon promise of great rewards, discovered the confederacey between him, Locheill, and Keppoch ; and that his advice occasioned Bryan's sudden march into Lochaber : That by his intelligence, the enemy had notice of Locheil's possessing himself of the Pass of Clunes, a narrow passage or defile, between two high mountains, of near a myle in length, covered with wood on both sides, and commonly called " The Dark Myle ;" and

that he had nothing in the end for his reward but contempt, at which he was so petted, that he soone thereafter went abroad to the King, who, having no information of his late doeings, upon the meritt of his former services advanced him to the Peerage.

But whatever exceptions may be to his integrity, it is certain he was a person both of courage and genius. Upon his leaving the kingdom, his estate was forfeited, and Argyle having got a gift of the forfeiture, complimented it to Locheill after his capitulation; but he made no furder use of it, than to preserve it intire for the legall ouner. Argyl's disposition of it to Locheill is still extant, and is to be seen in the hands of M'Kenzie of Rose-end.

Locheill, in companey with Generall Drummond, returned to Glencairn's army, where there hapned some brisk skirmises between them and the English, in which both partys showed abundance of courage, but without any memorable event or remarkable accident.

This winter, Lieutenant-Collonell M'Leod, who had been sent in the summer preceeding to his Majesty, and to General Middletoun, who was still in Holand, returned to the Highlands, where he found Glencairn and his army dispersed into such quarters as the country affoarded, and brought with him letters of instructions from the King, with the wellcome newes that Middletoun was soone to be over among them, and that he was to bring them considerable supplys.

Locheill had a letter from his Majesty, which I have before recited, and another from the Generall confirming the same newes, and assureing [him] of his Majesty's princely favour. The General was as good as his word, and arived in Caithness about the first of March, from which he sent Locheill the short note that follows:

"Honoured Sir,—The King is very sensible of your affection to him, and I am confident how soone he is in a capacity, will liberally reward your services. I doe not at all doubt of your constant resolution to prosecute that service vigerously with all your power for the King's intrest, and your country's honour, and I doe assure yow that no man shall

be more ready to assist yow in any thing than, &c. (Subscribed) John Middletone. Toung, March 1654.

"*P.S.*—I expect that yow, with your friends, will not faill to come considerably, to joyn me, as soon as yow are advertized by the Earl of Glencairn of his march towards me."

Middletoune brought with him a few Scotch officers, and a small supply of arms and ammunition, which he, after much trouble, gott upon the credite and contribution of the Scots merchants and officers I mentioned.

Glencairn immediatly gave up the command of his small army, and, after fighting a duel with one of his own officers, which he refused to doe till he was in a private state, he made his peace with General Monk, and thereafter lived peaceably at home, still retaining his affection and loyalty to his Majestie.

Locheill obeyed the General's orders, and joyned him with a full regiment of good men. They immediatly entered upon action, and bravely fought, and defeated several considerable bodys of the enemy. It is a pity we have not the particulars. The Earl of Clarendon, who was no friend to the Scots, assures us that by the gallant actions he performed during this campaign, he made it manifast what he wowld have done could he have brought over the 2000 men, and the arms and other supplys he expected to have carryed along with him,—and if others had performed half their promises.

Dr Skinner, in his Life of General Monk, says, that Middletoun's army amounted to 8000 or 9000 men, headed by officers of the principal nobility and gentrey of the nation; and that Cromewell, who had now made himself master of the government, and who could better dessemble his hatered than his fears, not knowing how far this insurrection might suddenly prevaill in a nation restless and dissatisfied at the late severitys, and that were watching all occasions to recover again the loss of their reputation, with the liberty of their countrey, thought Lilburn a person of too little courage to be trusted at this time with so strong and tough ane employment. He therefore made choise of General Monk, who was

now grown famous by seaveral most glorious victoreys which he had the year preceeding obtained over the Dutch at sea, with whom the new Commonwealth was then at war.

The General arrived in Scotland about the 23d of Aprile 1654. The first thing he sett about was to fill his magazins with all manner of provisions and warlike stores, and the places he fixed upon as most proper for his purpose were Leith, Perth, and Inverness. He marched his army into the Highlands in two distinct bodys, having about 2500 foot and 600 horse in each party; whereof he commanded one himself, and gave the other to the famous General Morgan, one of the bravest officers of those times. He left besides another party of horse and foot to range about in the countrey, in order, as well to cutt off all communication between Middletoune and the Loyalists in those parts, as to prevent their raiseing of more forces.

By this prudent conduct, Middletone and his army were reduced to the greatest hardships, without any hopes of a relief; for, being hemmed in on all sides, and having no garrison nor retreate for his men, he was obliged to defend himself in the open countrey, where, besides other difficultys, he was much distressed for want of provisions. This occasioned many fierce conflicts, wherein our young Chief had alwayes the honour to distinguish himself. His men seemed to be spirited by his example, and in the end became so hardy and resolute, that they dispised all danger, while he was on their head. There was little blood drawn all that campaign where he was not present; for he chose to be in that part of the army that opposed General Morgan, who, being an active and brave officer, seldome allowed rest to his enemys.

Monk left no means unessayed to lessen and divide the Highland army. As he marched throw the countreys of those that were in arms, he destroyed all before him with fire and sword. Such of their houses as were tenible, he garrisoned and plentifully furnished with all manner of provisions, and built forts and barracks in other convenient places, in order to restrain them more. By these, and the like methods, he drew off great numbers; but he carryed away many more by his gentleness and clemency to those that were willing to accept of terms; for he de-

manded no other conditions but to live peaceably, and to give up their arms, which many joyfully submitted to.

As Locheill was the most distinguished Chieff, in that army, for bravery and spirit, Monk left no methods unpractized to bribe him into a submission. He made him so many engadgeing offers and proposealls, that severals of his best friends were surprized that he so much as hesitated in accepting them. Among others, he offered to buy the estate of Glenluy and Locharkike for him, to pay all his debts, and to give him what post in the army he pleased. But finding that course inefectwal, he came to a resolution of executing a former project of planting such a strong garrison at Inverlochy, as should either give him the country to his mercy, or force the active and enterprising Chieff to return home to its defence. Nor was he out in his judgement; for Locheill had timely notice, and marched streight into Lochaber, where, after having raised more men, he resolved to fight the enemy in their march from Inverness, that being the rout he was informed they were to take; and General Middletoune drew his forces that way, in order to support him.

But the sudden arrivall of the English, by sea, quickly disconcerted all their measurs. Locheill was indebted to his friend the Marquess of Argyle, who, it is reported, first advised the settling of a garrison in Lochaber for this dissapointment. That political Lord soone convinced General Monk of the danger that his troops wowld run, if they marched by Inverness; and advised him to obviate that inconveniency by imbarking them at a convenient port on the West Seas, and offered proper persons to pilote them safely to the place they intended. This advice was so effectwally executed, that the troops landed safely at Inverlochy, even while it was given out with assurance, that they were to come by the North. They came in five vessells, besides carriage boats, with a year's provision, and great plenty of materials for erecting the designed fort. The same Collonell Brayn, who was in that countrey the former year, was appointed Governour of the garrison, which then consisted of 2000 effective troops, commanded by the most resolute and skilfull officers in Generall Monk's army. They were attended by a great number of workmen, with servants, wifes, and children.

The scituation of this Garrison is so singular and currious, that it deserves to be described; besides, the following relation makes it necessarey:—It stands upon the South syde of a small gulf of that arm of the sea called Locheill, where, by the turn of the mountains, it forms itself into an angle, and receives the great and rapid river of Lochy; which from the North, or opposite side, rushes into it with such force and violence, that it preserves its streams intire, without any mixture, for a long way. The fort is scituated upon a plain allmost levell with the sea. On the oposite shoars there is another, of a much larger extent, upon the same levell, which widens, and exceedingly beautifies the prospect. These plains are surrounded with mountains, which were then covered with wood, and watered with many springs and rivolets.

Behind the fort there arises a huge mountain, of a prodigeous hight, called Beniviss, at that time addorned with a variety of trees and bushes, and now with a beautifull green. Its ascent is prety steep, though smooth. The top or summit is plain, covered with perpetwall snow, and darkned with thick clouds.

On the East, the prospect opens into a glen or valley betwixt two mountains, beawtified with diversity of trees, shrubs, and bushes, besides many lovely greens, with a river at the bottom; which, after being brocken by a heap of misscheapen stones, glides away in a clear stream, and wandring through woods, vales, and rocks, in many windings, looses it self in the sea.

On the West, the Lake, or arm of the sea called Locheill, extends it self five long miles through two ridges of hills, riseing on both sides, with many woods, greens, mosses, and torrents, falling doun with great noise and force from the rocks and precipices, and terminats the view by another mountain, which appears like a vast cloud in a distant region.

Opposite to the Fort, on the North, the afore-mentioned river of Lochy conducts the eye to a large fresh-water Lake, of the same name, from which it rises for six miles foreward, almost in a direct line. This Lake is of a great breadth; and streaching it self twelve miles furder Northward, receives another river, which continues the prospect till it

guides yow to a second Lake, near Glengary, where the eye looses it self in the immensity of the view.

The high mountains on both sides these lochs and rivers, opening like huge walls on either hand, yeald a curious variety of savage prospects for near fourty miles, in almost a streight vista; the vast wideness whereof, making the several turnings of the mountains rather diversifey the scene, than obstruct the eye. This great opening is called by the generall name of Glenmore. The extreamitys of these mountains gradwally declyning from their several summitts, open into glens or outletts, where yow have various views of woods, rivers, plains, and laiks, and the torrents, or falls of water, which every here and there tumble down the presipices, and, in many places, seem to breck through the clifts and cracks of the rocks, strick the eye more agreeably than the most curious artifiçiall cascades.

In a word, the number, extent, and variety of the several prospects; the verdure of the trees, shrubs, and greens; the odd wildness of the hills, rocks, and precipeces; with the noise of the rivoletts and torrents, brecking and foaming among the stones, in such a diversity of collowrs and figures; the shineing smoothness of the seas and laiks, the rapidity and rumling of the rivers falling from shelve to shelve, and forceing their streams through a multitude of obstructions, have something so charmingly wild and romantick as even exceeds discription.

The neightbourhood of these woods furnished the Governour of Inverlochy with such plenty of materialls, that in less than 24 hours after his landing he secured his troops from all danger of being attacked. Locheill came with all his men to a wood in the neightbourhood the nixt day, with a full resolution to engadge him; but having himself taken a view of his works from ane adjacent eminence, he found it impracticable, and retired three miles Westwards to a wood on the North side of Locheill, called Achadelew. Here, having advised with his friends, it was judged proper to dismiss the men for some days, as well in order to remove their cattle to greater distances from the enemy, as to furnish themselves with provisions; which, by their being long together, were quite exhausted. He retained only thirty-two young gentlemen and his oun ser-

vants about him as a guard to his person, amounting in all to thirty-five, or, as others say, to thirty-eight persons. He could fix upon no place more convenient to attend the return of his men; having not only a safe retreate into the wood in case of any sudden danger, but likewaise, the garrison so much in his view, that the smalest party could not be detatched, without having timely notice of its motion. Besids, he had ordered proper persons to attend in the garrison, who dilligently informed themselves of all that passed. These insinuated themselves so cunningly into a familiarity with the soldiers by frank offers of their services, that they were not in the least suspected, and were of great use.

By these, Locheill had privatly notice that the Governour, incouraged by his dismissing his men, was that very day, being the fifth after his arrivall, to send out a detatchment of 300 men, attended by some workmen, as well in order to bring in some fresh provisions, as to fell a good quantity of old oak trees, which, he was informed, were to be found in great plenty on both sides of the Loch. Though Locheill was much displeased at himself for dismisseing so many of his men, yet, pushed on by his curiousity, he assended an eminence, from whence he had a full prospect of all their works; and soon thereafter discovered two ships, full of soldiers, saileing towards the wood, where he and his men lay concealed. These ships, as he afterwards found, contained an equall number of troops. One of them anchored on this, and the other on the opposite shoar. Resolving to have a nearer view, he, by the favour of the wood, found means to post himself in such a short distance of the place where they landed, that he counted them as they drew up, and their number was about 140 men, besids officers and workmen with axes and other instruments. Having thus fully satisfied himself, he returned to his friends, and asked their oppinion, what they ought to doe, "now that such a party of the enemy had offered their throats to be cutt," as he expressed himself. The far greater party were young men, firy, hott-headed, full of viggour and courage, and fond of every opportunity of pleaseing their young Chieff, whom they almost adored. These discovering his inclinations, were for attacking the English (or "Sassanoch," that is, Saxons, as they call them in their language) att all

hazards, without weighting the consequences ; but the few wiser, and of more experience, disswaded him from it by all the arguments they could fall upon. They said, that the vast inequality of their numbers rendered the attempt madd and ridicoulous : That, supposeing them cowards, yet they were strangers, and the very dispare of escapeing by flight wowld oblige them to fight for their lives ; and being more than four to one, it wowd be surprizing if they did not surround, and cutt there assaliants to pices : But here, the combate wowld still be more hazardous and desperate ; for the enemy were all choise old troops, hardned, and inspirited by long practice, and perpetwall success in war, and commanded by experienced officers, who knew well how to imploy these advantages ; so that it wowd be a sufficient proofe of their oun courage to fight such an enemy upon equal terms. Upon the whole, that their best advice was immediatly to dispatch such persons as he their Chief should pitch upon, to call for the assistance of more men, and then to fight when they reasonably could expect success.

There were one or two present who had served under Montrose. Locheill asked their oppinions separatly, but they declaired, that they never knew him engadge under so great a dissadvantage of force ; besides, that they looked upon this enemy to be of a character supperior to any that Montrose had occasion to dale with ; for, though he seldome fought but where there were some regiments of old soldiers against him, yet the greater part were commonly such as neither listed themselves out of zeall for the Covenant, or were otherwayes forced, and, therefore, not to be compared with veterane troops.

But, notwithstanding of all this, Locheill was so resolute that he wowld not be disswaded from the hazardous attempt. Whither pushed on by an excess of courage, or by a youthfull spiritt of emulation, (for he had Montrose alwaise in his mouth,) it is certain that he never appeared absolutely inexorable but on this occasion. He upraided his friends as enemys to his and their own glory, in magnifying dangers, where, he said, there was so little reason : He alleaged that he had allowed the same enemy to escape, by their advice, when he had an opportunity of cutting them to pices ; and that, had they been then treated as they deserved,

they neither wowld have had the boldness to fix themselves in the heart of his countrey, nor the insolence to cutt doun his woods without his leave; but they should not have one tree of his without paying for it with their blood: That if they were not chastized, the Camerons, who were the only free people within the three kingdoms, wowld soone find themselves in a miserable state of servitude, at the mercy of bloody enthusiasts, who had enslaved their countrey, and embrued their impious hands in the blood of their Sovereign, and still thristed for that of his few remaining subjects: That, however they magnified their courage, yet it might be remembered by severals, who were present, that they had oftener than once tryed it with success in conflicts more hazardous; and, particularly, att Brea of Marr, where he himself defended a pass with a handfull, against an army of them: He furder alleaged, that the enemy, being in absolute security, wowld be so confounded and stupified on a bold, sudden, and unexpected attack, that they wowld imagine every tree in the wood a Highlander with a broadsword in his hand, and cutting their throats: That they had no other arms but heavey musquets, which wowld be useless after the first fire; and that it wowld be their oun faults if they allowed them time to make a second: That supposeing that he and his party should be obliged to retreate, which was the worst that could happen, it was easie for them to retire furder into the wood, through which the enemy durst not follow them, for fear of ambushes; and though they should, yet the Highlanders, who were much nimbler, had the adjacent mountains for their security: That, as to the propossall of sending for more men, they knew that to be impracticable; for those in the neightbourhood were by this time in the remote mountains with their cattle, and the rest lived at too great a distance to affoard assistance at that time; but that he truely belived there was no need of their aid, for if every one there wowld undertake to kill his man, which he expected they wowd doe with their shott, he said that he wowld answer for the rest!

Locheill delivered himself in such a manner that non of his party made furder opposition. They all declaired that they were ready to march wherever he should command them, though to certain death; on

condition that he and his younger brother Allan, who was then a stripling, wowld agree to absent themselves from that danger. They said, that as all the hopes of the Clan depended on their safety, so they intreated him to be prevailed upon in so reasonable a demand. Locheill could not patiently hear the propossall with regaird to himself; but commanded that his brother should be bound to a tree; and that since he could not spare any of his men, a little boy, who was accidentaly with them, should be left to attend him. Though these orders were executed, yet the brave youth soon forced the boy to unloose him, and by that means had the good fortune to save his brother's life, as we shall see by and by.

In the meantime, his scouts brought him notice that the enemy having continued for a short space where they landed, marched slowly along the shoar about half a mile furder Westward, and were now advanced to the village of Achadelew, where they were pillageing the houses and catching the poultry. Locheill, judgeing this the proper season for attacking them, while they were in some disorder, drew up his party in a long line, one man deep, and desired them to march softly, to prevent dissordering themselves, while they were intangled among the trees, till they came in view of the enemy, and to keep up their shott till they touched their breasts with the muzells of their peices. About one half of his men had bows, and were exelent archers. These he ordered to doe the same, and mixed them among his firelocks. But his men were too young and foreward to observe the first part of these orders with necessarey exactness. They marched so quick, or rather ran with such a pace, that Locheill, who, by some accident or other, was obliged to stay a little behind, ran a very great risk (before he could overtake them) of being shott from a bush, where one of the enemy lurked: but his brother Allan came luckily up in the very point of time, and shott the fellow, while he had his gun at his eye, levelled directly att Locheill, who had not observed him.

The English, who, it seems, had been timeously advertised by some of their stragglers, were in very good order when the Camerons came in view of them. They received them with a general discharge of their

musquetts, though at such a distance that they did no harm; and the Highlanders were up with them before they could again load their pices, and powering their shotts into their very bossoms, killed above thirty of them with that bloody fire. They then fell on with their swords, and laid about them with incredible fury. The enemy sustained the shoke with equall bravery, though with less success.

That manner of fighting was new and surprizeing to them. Att first, they acted interely upon the defencive; and, by holding their musquetts cross their foreheads, endeavoured to defend themselves from the terrible blows of the broad-sword. But the Highlanders stricking them below, they were soon obliged to chainge that method. Some of them chose to make use of their swords, with which they struck at their enemys, with great strength and furey; but their blows were mostly ineffectwall, the Highlanders receiving them on their targets or shields; and the mettle and temper of their blades was so bad, that they sone bent in their hands, and became useless, which exposed them to innevitable death. Others of them thrust their bayonets into the muzles of their peices, as the custome then was; but these were no less unsuccessfull, for the more violently they pusht, the more firmly they fastned and stuck in the targets, and left the users naked and defenceless. Those that clubbed their musketts did some more misschief, but faired little better in the end; for though they made some sure blows, yet these peices were at that time so clumsey and heavy, that they seldom could recover them for a second strock; besides, the Highlanders covering them[selves] with their targets, commonly broke their force. But the supperiority of their numbers gave such advantages, as enabled them to keep the conflict long in suspense. Though their ranks were often peirced, disordered, and broke, yet they as often rallyed, and returned to the charge, which exceedingly surprized the Highlanders, who were not accustomed with such long and doubtfull actions; and it is more than probable, that, had the English weapons been equall to the courage of the men, their enemys had payed dear for their rashness.

But their numbers at last decressing, by the slaughter of their best men, they began gradwally to give ground, but not so as to fly; for, with

their faces to their enemys, they still keept in a body retreating, though in disorder, and fighting with invincible obstinacy and resolution. But Locheill, to prevent their escapeing to their vessell, fell upon this stratagem. He commanded two or three of his men to run before, and from a bush of wood, to call out so as to make them imagine that another party of Highlanders intercepted their retreat. This tooke so effectwally that they stopt ; and animated by rage, madness, and dispare, they renewed the skirmish with greater fury than before. They were still supernumerary to the Highlanders, by more than a half, and wanted nothing but proper arms to make Locheill repent that he did not give way to their escape. They no more regairded their safety, and with their clubbed musquets fetched such stroks as would have browght their enemys to the ground, if they had been aimed with as much discretion as they were layed on with force. But this served only to heasten their distruction ; for, exerting all their strength in making these blows, the sway of their heavey musquetts, which commonly struck against the ground, rendering them unable to recover themselves, the Highlanders made use of the advantage, and stabbed them with their durks or poynards, while they were thus naked and defenceless ; whereby they quickly diminished their numbers, and forced them again to betake themselves to their heels.

Being thus broken and dispersed, they fled as fear or chance directed them. The Highlanders pursued with as little judgement. In one place yow might have seen five Highlanders engadged with double that number of Englishmen ; and in another, two or three Englishmen defending themselves against twice as many of their enemys. But the greatest part made to the shoar, where we shall leave them for a moment, and follow the young Chieff, who mett with a most surprizeing adventure.

It was his chance to follow a few that fled into the wood, where he killed two or three with his own hand, non having pursued that way but himself. The officer who commanded the party had likewayes fled thither, but concealing himself in a bush, Locheill had not noticed him. This gentleman, observing that he was alone, started suddenly out of his lurking-place, and attacked him in his return, threatning, as he rush-

ed furiously upon him, to revenge the slaughter of his countreymen by his death. Locheill, who had also his sword in his hand, received him with equall resolution. The combate was long and doubtfull; both fought for their lives; and as they were both animated by the same fury and courage, so they seemed to manage their swords with the same dexterity. The English gentleman had by far the advantage in strength and size, but Locheill exceeding him in nimbleness and agility, in the end tript the sword out of his hand. But he was not allowed to make use of this advantage; for his antagonist flyeing upon him with incredible quickness, they inclosed and wrestled till both fell to the ground in other's arms. In this posture they struggled, and tumbled up and doun till they fixt in the channell of a brooke, betwixt two straite banks, which then, by the drouth of summar, chanced to be dry. Here Locheill was in a most dismall and desperate scituation; for being undermost, he was not only crushed under the weight of his antagonist, (who was an exceeding big man,) but likewayes sore hurt, and bruized by many sharp stones that were below him. Their strength was so far spent, that neither of them could stirr a limb; but the English gentleman, by the advantage of being uppermost, at last recovered the use of his right hand. With it he seized a dagger that hung at his belt, and made severall attempts to stab his adversarey, who all the while held him fast; but the narrowness of the place where they were confyned, and the posture they were in, rendering the execution very difficult, and almost impracticable, while he was so straitly embraced, he made a most violent effort to disingadge himself; and in that action, raiseing his head and streaching his neck, Locheill, who by this had his hands at liberty, with his left suddently seized him by the right, and with the other by the collar, and jumping at his extended throat, which he used to say, "God putt in his mouth," he bitt it quitt throw, and keept such hold of his grip, that he brought away his mouthfull! This, he said, was the sweetest bite ever he had in his lifetime! The reader may imagine in what a pickle he would be, after receiving such a gush of warm blood, as naturally flowed from so wide ane orifice.

However, he had soone an opportunity of washing himself, for heasten-

ing to the shoar, he found his men chin-deep in the sea, endeavouring to destroy the remander of the enemy, who still attempted to recover their vessell, which road near the shoare att ane anchor; and inclining to save these few gleanings of so noble a victorey, he with great difficulty stopt the furey of his men, and offered quarters. They all submitted, being about thirty-five in number. The first that delivered his arms was an Irishman, who having briskly offered his hand to Locheill, bad him adiew, and ran away with so much speed, that, notwithstanding he was warmly pursued, he made his escape to Inverlochy, which is three long miles of stoney and uneven roade, from the village where they first engadged. Besides that, he had the rapid river of Lochy to cross before he was in safety. It is reported of this fellow, that the danger he had run—when he addressed God by prayer, which every soldier was in those religious times obliged to doe, he alwayes adjected this petition—"That God in his mercy wowld be pleased to keep him out of the hands of Locheill and his bloody crew!"

Before the rest gave up their arms, one of them had the boldness to attempt to shoote Locheill, who having by good fortune observed him, while he had his gun at his eye, plunged himself into the sea at the moment when the fellow drew the tricker. This he the more easily effected, that he was chin-deep in the water; and even in that circumstance, his escape was so narrow, that a part of the hair of his hind-head was cut, and the skin a little ruffled by the ball.

After this, the Camerons showed no more mercy. They flew upon them like tigers, and cutt them to peices, wherever they could come at them. In vain did Locheill interpose his authority; their ears were deafe to everything but the dictats of fury and revenge. Nor indeed did the English, after so manifast a violation of the laws of wars, seem to expect any better treatment; for one of them, whom the Camerons guessed to be an officer by his dress, having gott on board the ship, resolved to accomplish what the other had failled in; and that he might make himself the surer of his aime, he rested his peice upon the ledge of the vessell. Locheill observed him, and judgeing that he had no other chance of escapeing but by duiking, as he did before, he keept his

eye closs upon the fingre that he had at the tricker. But his foster-brother, who was hard by, happining at the same time to take notice of the danger his Chief was in, and preferring his safety to his own, immediatly threw himself before him, and received the shott in his very mouth and breast. This is perhaps one of the most astonishing instances of affection and love that any age can produce! If fortitude and courage are qualitys of so heroick and sublime a nature, what name shall we invente for a noble contempt of life, generously thrown away in preservation of one of a much greater value?

Locheill revenged the death of this brave youth with his own hand, and after the utter distruction of the whole party, excepting the Irishman, and one other person, whom we shall hereafter mention, he carried him three long miles upon his own back, and interred him in the burriall-place of his family,—after the most honourable manner he could contrive.

The Camerons, after finishing of this hard day's labour, found themselves not only extreamly fatigued, but likewaise the greatest part of them were bruised and wownded. They lost only five of their number, whereof four were slain in the action, and the fifth sacraficed himself in the unprecedented manner I have related. Locheill having, out of curiosity, ordered the few that had escaped being hurt or wownded to count the bodys of the enemy that lay scattered up and doun the fields, and to take care of such as appeared not to be mortally wownded, he found the exact number of the slain to be 138; whereby he judged that the whole party did not much exceed that calcule; for, excepting the workmen that run away at the first charge, he knew of non that escaped but the Irishman lately mentioned, and one other man, whom he himself saved, and who, in gratitude, served him afterwards faithfully as his cook while he lived. He had some difficulty to save this prissoner from the furry of his landlady with whom he lodged that night. This woman lived upon the side of Locheill, at a small distance from Achadelew, and having lossed one of her sons, a very hansome young man, in the action, she, in the transports of her grief, tooke a fancy in her head that possibly this might be the man that killed her sone; and so, without furder examening mat-

ters, flew upon him, and wowld have undoubtedly strangled him, if Locheill had not interposed, and secured his safety by sending him to another house, under a guard. The nixt day Locheill sent him to the garrison to visite his friends, and to inform Collonell Bryan how affairs had happned ; and he not only executed his commission very faithfully, but returned himself within a day or two thereafter, and conceived such ane affection for his new master, that he served him ever after with the greatest zeall and fidelity while he lived. This much I thought due to the memorey of so honest a man. It is a proofe that virtue and honour may be found in the meanest breast.

He was much diverted with the simplicity of some of his men, while they were viewing the dead. They had been, some way or other, prepossesed with a fancy that the English had some excressence shooting out from their rumps, in form of tailes ; which made some of the meaner sort examine several of the dead bodys, with great curiousity and exactness.

Several other amuseing storeys are related of this action. I shall only trouble the reader with two, whereof the one showes the temper of common soldiers, and the other of the Highlanders ; the courage of the first being meerly mechanicall, and flowing from dissipline and habite, as serving simply for bread ; and that of the last, from the notions they have of honour and loyalty, and of the services which they think they owe to their Chief, as the root of the family, and the commone father and protector of the name. As this has something of greatness and generosity in the principle, so the actions flowing from it participate of the same spirit. Of this we have already had an illustrious example ; and, indeed, the almost unequalled bravery of the Camerons, during the terrible and extraordinary skirmish I have described, examplify the same in a number of persons. Nor did it less appear in the generous emulation that spirited them to exert the outmost efforts of their strength and courage before their young Chief. One of them having shott an arrow at too great a distance, and Locheill observing that it did not peirce deep enough to kill the man, cryed out, that "it came from a weak arm ;" at which the Highlander thought himself so affronted, that, dispiseing

all danger, he rushed among the thick of the enemy, and recovering his own arrow, plunged it into the man's body to the feathers! This action wowld have coast him his life, if Locheill had not quickly detatched a party to his relief.

The other instance is this: The English, after their defeat, being hard put to it by the pursueing enemy, they plunged into the sea, in hopes of recovering their ships. One of them, observing that a peice of beeff and some small bisketts had dropt out of his pocketts by the floating of the laps of his coat, he, preferring the recovery of his provisions to the safety of his life, fell a fishing [for] them, and had his head divided into two parts by the blow of a broad-sword, as he was putting the first morsell of it into his mouth.

I shall make one other observation on the courage of these people, before we dismiss them; and that is, that, even after they were in absolute dispare of escapeing, not one of them (excepting the person whom Locheill saved) called for quarters; nor did they, in all the fright and confusion they were in, part with their arms but with their lives.

In the mean time, the soldiers that were in the other ship we have mentioned landed on the shore opposite to Auchadelew, but somewhat more Westward. The people of the nixt villages having discovered them before they arived, desserted their houses, and carryed off their cattle and other goods to the mountains; so that these soldiers found only ane old feeble man, whom they not only used with great inhumanity, but because he wowld not, or perhaps could not, make the discoverys they wanted of him, they determined to hang him, and were prepareing ropes when they heard the noise of the fire on the opposite shoar. This having fixt their attention, gave the poor man an opportunity of crawleing away to the nixt bushes, where he concealed himself from their crewelty. The Loch, at that place, being not much above one mile broad, they saw the other side very distinctly, but there being many bushes and shrubs, and the ground somewhat uneven, on account of certain hillocks and hollow places, they could not descern particular objects with that exactness as to make a sure discovery. In order, thereafter, to have a nearer view, they again imbarked, and made gently

to the middle of the Loch, from whence they plainly saw that their friends were ingadged, that they were chaced up and down, and very hard putt to it by the prevalling enemy. But, suspecting that the Highlanders were very numerous, and the officer that commanded them being probably more cautious than stout, they satisfied themselves with fireing from their ship, though at too great a distance to have any effect. In a word, they continued there till Locheill retired with his men, and then they adventured to land, and beheld the dismall fate of their countreymen, whose bodys they putt on board the other empty vessell, which they hailed along with them to Inverlochy.

The Governour had the first accounts of his men's being attacked from the workmen, who fled in the beginning; which exceeding perplexed him. Though he and his counceill were far from thinking that they cowld come in time to the relief of his party, yet they resolved to doe all in their power, and to march out with their whole garrison; but, before they had time to sett out, the Irishman, so often mentioned, arrived almost dead with fear and fatigue, and informed that all his men were cutt off. The ships cam up in the evening, and brought the dismall proofs along with them.

The astonishment of the Governour and his officers, upon seeing the dead bodys exposed, is inexpressible. The deep wownds and terrible slashes that appeared on these mangled carcasses seemed to be above the strength of man. Some had their heads cutt doun a good way into the neck; others had them divided across by the mouth and nose; many, who were struck upon the collar-bone, shewed ane orifice or gash much wider than that made by the blow of the heavyest hatchett; and often the shearing blade, where the blow was full, and mett with no extraordinary obstruction, penetrated so deep as to discover part of the intrails. There were some that had their bellys laid open, and others with their arms, thighs, and leggs, lopt off in an amazeing manner. Several bayonetts were cutt quitt through, and musquitts were pierced deeper than can be well imagined. The Governour and maney of his officers had formerly had occasion to see the Highlanders of several clans and countreys, but they appeared to be no extraordinarey men

neither in size or strength. The Camerons they had observed to be of a peice with the rest, and they wondered where Locheill could find a sufficient body of men of strength and brawn to give such an odd variety of surprizeing wownds. But they did not know that there was as much arte as strength in fetching these strocks; for, where a Highlander layes it on full, he draws it with great address the whole length of the blade, whereas an unskilfull person takes in no more of it than the breadth of the place where he hitts. He is likewayes taught to wownd with the point, or to fetch a back-strock, as occasion offers; and as in all these he knows how to exert his whole vigour and strength, so his blade is of such excellent temper and form as to answer all his purposes.

Various were the accounts that spread abroad of this action in the beginning; but time at last bringing the treuth to light, it became the general admiratione of the whole kingdome. Locheill was by all partys extolled to the skyes as a young hero of boundless courage and extraordinary conduct. His presence of mind, in delivering himself from his terrible English antagonist, who had so much the advantage of him in every thing but vigour and courage, by biteing out his throat, was in every person's mouth; as it is, indeed, often talked off to this day. Nor was the generosity of his foster-brother, who willingly sacraficed his oun life for the preservation of his Chief, less the wonder and astonishment of mankind. The only part of Locheil's conduct I have heard blamed, was his artfull stoping his enemys, who were still double his number, in their retreat, that being contrair to the prudent maxim of giveing a golden bridge to a retiring foe; but there must be still some allowance made for the fire of youth, and for noble ardor of mind that a young warriour is possessed with, in the heat of his courage.

The English, on the other hand, were more pityed than blamed. They did all that men could doe in the circumstances they were in. Not a single man of them betrayed the least cowardice, but fought it out with invincible obstinacy, while any of them remained to make opposition; and their frequent attempts upon the Chief's life, even after quarters were offered, shews that their fortitude and courage remained so firm to the last, that they disdained to be the survivors of a defeate,

which they looked upon as shemfull and ignominious. In short, they were not conquered, but destroyed; and their ruine may be atributed to these two reasons; the first, that they lost the use of their shott by fireing att too great a distance, for there was not so much as one Highlander killed or wownded by it; the second, that they had no arms suited to the nature of the combate, their heavey musquetts serving them rather to retard the victorey, than to destroy the enemy.

Locheill, immediatly after this exploite, resolving to return to General Middletoun, commanded such of his men as lived near the Garrison to submitt themselves, and make their peace with the Governour, on condition, that he demanded no other terms but to live peaceably. By this wise conduct, he secured his people from being ruined during his absence; but while he waited the return of his men, he mett with another opportunity of cutting off a party of the enemy, which happned on this occasion.

The submission I just now mentioned, having partly removed the fears that the Garrison lay under, the Governour began to send out partys to bring in materials for carrying on his fortifications; and Locheill, being informed of what passed, resolved to make use of the opportunity that their security gave him, and posted himself in a convenient station within less than half a mile Westward of the Garrison. That same morning, the Governour sent out a command of 200 men, upon I know not what errand; and Locheill, to make surer of them, detatched twenty of his to a private place betwixt them and their friends; and ordered them to sally suddenly out, and intercept them in case they should chance to fly that way, as they naturally wowld.

The enemy, having advanced in good order, to a village called Auchintoure, Locheill, who was prepared, rushed upon them with a sudden furry, and easily brock them; for the fatall memorey of Auchadelew had so benumbed their courage, that they made no resistance, but fled at the first charge. The twenty men I mentioned gave them a full fire in the breast, and then attacked them with their swords; but they wowld not be stopt. In a word, they lost one half of their number.

Locheill, having pursued them to the very walls of their fort, he made some few of them prissoners, whom he destributed among such of his men as lived out of the reverence of the Garrison.

A few days thereafter, he marched Northward, at the head of a gallant party, and was received by the General and his friends there with great triumph and joy. The noise of the success in Lochaber and of some others that the General had lately obtained, gave them hopes of being soon in a condition to open their way into the South, where they were sure that the King had many friends; for the severity of General Monk's Government was such, that the people were keen to have ane opportunity of freeing themselves from that untolerable servitude. Nor was less expected, as appears from the following letter to Locheill from his cousine, the Earl of Loudon. This Lord was a person of considerable parts; and though he was deeply engadged in the Rebellion, and a great friend of the Marquess of Argyl's, who was his Chief, yet, from the King's being in Scotland, he became privatly his friend, and keept a correspondance with the Loyalists. He bore the office of Chancelor during the bloody reign of the Covenant; and it seems that the King continued him in that post; at least he acted as Chancellour in the year 1649.

"TO MY MUCH HONOURED AND LOVING COUSINE, THE LAIRD OF LOCHEILL.

"LOVING COUSINE,

"I hop this will find yow with the Generall, who will communicate to yow all occurances and intelligence from this part of the countrey; which makes me forbear to trouble yow at this time with a long letter, hopping to see yow shortly towards this part. The signall proof yow have given of your affection to the King's service, and true valure in opposing and rancountering the rebells that entered your countrey, I trust, will be keept in thankfull remembrance by his Majesty, and hath endeared yow to all who love their King or countrey; and your comeing alongst with the General, and constancey in the King's service, will procure such recompense and marks of favour to yourself and family

from him, as will make yow think all your pains and hazards yow can be at well bestowed : Which is all I have to wryte at present, but to entreat yow to hasten these other letters to my Lord General, if he be not with yow, assureing yow that I will, upon all occasions, be ready to approve my self,

" Your most affectionat cousine,

" Sept. 9, 1654. (Signed) Lowdon."

About this time, the famous Captain Wogan arrived in the Highland camp. He was a very handsom gentleman, of the age of three or four and twenty. When he was a youth of fifteen or sixteen years, he had been, by the corruption of some of his nearest friends, engadged in the Parliament service against the King, where the eminencey of his courage made him so much taken notice of, that he acquired a great reputation, and was beloved by all ; but so much in the friendship of General Ireton, under whom he had the command of a troop of horse, that no man was so much in credit with him. But being improved in age and understanding, and falling into the conversation of sober men, he began, by degrees, to discover his error ; and the barbarous murder of the King gave him so great a detestation and horrour of these impious rebells, that he thought of nothing but to repair his oun reputation by taking vengeance of those who had cousined [cozened] and misled him.

The fame of the Marquess of Ormond's uniteing with the Irish in favours of the King quickly drew him thither, and he behaved with such signall valour, that that noble Lord gave him the command of his own Guards, and every man the testimony of his deserving it. He came over with the Marquess into France, and being restless to be in action, no sooner heard of Middletoun's being arrived in Scotland, than he resolved to be with him. It was with the greatest difficulty that he could prevail with his Majestie to allow him, and to grant commissions for himself and some other resolute young gentlemen that were willing to accompaney him. The very nixt day after obtaining his dispatches, he and his companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of Paris together, and tooke post for Calais. They landed att Dover, continued

their journey to London, and walked the town, [and] stayed there about three weeks, till they had bought horses. In a word, they were full four-score horse, well armed, when they left that city, and marching by easy journeys, but out of the common roads, they arived safely in Scotland, where they beat up some of the enemy's quarters that lay in their way, and without any misfortune joyned General Middletoune in the Highlands.

They were received with all the honour and respect due to such a gallant companey of loyall adventurers, and performed many brave actions with Mr Woggan at their head. Locheill sone contracted a most intimate friendship with him, and several others of his party, and often shared in the honour of their adventures. No garrison of the enemy was secure within many miles of them, and as they were perpetwally in action, so they became a terror even to the most adventerous of the rebells. But poor Woggan chanceing, in one of these desperat encounters, to receive a small wound, which he at first neglected, it became at last incureable by the excessive fatigue he daily underwent, and the want of skillfull surgeons, so that he died of it, to the great grief of the General, and all who knew him. His comerads continued till the end of the war, and some few of them adventured to return to their own countrey by land, and from thence found their way to the King, and the rest accompaneyed the General.

Monk, in the mean time, observed his former cautious conduct, and was resolved, without risking the hazard of a general battle, to spin out the war in such a manner, as in the end to compell the Highlanders, whom he knew to be destitute of all means of supporting themselves, either to submitt or starve. He still keept his army in two distinct bodys, and within four days' march of each other. They were plentifully supplyed with all things, while Middletoun, who daily observed the decay of his forces, and the ruine of the countrey, and was in great want, was no less earnest to come to a battle with one or other of these armys. He was vigourously seconded by Locheill and most of the other Chiefs, who were keen to open a passage by their swords for their friends in the Low-countrey to joyn them, and to free themselves from the ravage and fury

of a crewall enemy, that daily destroyed their countrey with fire and sword. But it was Middletoun's misfortune to have too many of the nobility, and others who had been trained up in luxury, faction, and rebellion, in that divided army. These gentlemen being heartily wearey of the hardships and dangers they were daily exposed to by that fatigueing war, were more anxious to save themselves than to serve their King, and to doe honour to their countrey. They opposed the very motion of a battle with the greatest vechemencey and eagerness, upon pretence, that if they should have the good fortune to engadge one party with success, the other, being fresh, might advance upon them before they should be in a condition to recover themselves, to the hazard and loss of their whole army.

Locheill having, in the mean time, certain information from his friends in Lochaber, that the Governour of Inverlochy tooke the advantage of his absence to destroy his woods, and that he was resolved, before he expected him into the countrey, to provide himself in as much as wowld serve him for fireing during all the nixt winter and spring, he obtained leave from the Generall to pay him a private visite, on condition that he left the greatest part of his men behind him. He sett out in the night-time, in as private a manner as possible, on the head of 150 of his men; and arrived in his own countrey undiscovered, where he was soon informed of such circumstances as enabled him to putt his designs in execution.

The wood they were then imployed in cutting grew on the side of the great mountain Beneviss, at some more distance than a mile Eastward of the Garrison, at a place called Stroneviss, which being a slopping ground at the foot of that mountain, and ending in a kind of point, seems to be ane excressence growing out of it. Locheill marched to this place early in the morning, and posted his men in the following order:— He divided them into three partys; one of them, consisting of sixty men, he commanded himself, and tooke up his men in a bush of wood, which the troops, that were sent along with the hewers, usewally fronted; other two, of thirty men each, he posted on the right and left in concealed places, and commanded them to issue out of their stations, as soon as

they gott the signal, with a great shout, calling out, "Advance! advance!" as if the wood were full of men. A fourth, of the same number, he sent to a pass betwixt the wood and the Garrisson, where he ordered them to ly concealed, and not to stirr from their posts, unless they saw that the enemy made great resistance; but if they gave way, he commanded them to intercept their flight; and, after giveing them a full discharge in their breasts, to attack them with their swords, and to let as few escape as possible, but not to kill any that threw down their arms and demanded quarters; for he alwayes endeavoured to putt a stop to the barbarous custome of refuseing mercy to a vanquished enemy.

The English, to the number of four hundred or five hundred men, came out at the time expected, and marching without any fear or disturbance, tooke their usewall post. Locheill had layed his measures so well, that every thing happned as he projected, and the enemy was routed with a dismall slaughter. The noise that his several partys made as they issued out of the wood, with the echoeing of the hills, joyned with the loud musick of a great number of bagpyps, frighted them so that they made no great resistance. They fancyed that numerous bodys of Highlanders were powering in upon them from all parts, and they saw no safety but in their heels. About one hundred of them fell upon the spott, and the rest being stopt in their flight by the party posted between them and the Garrisson, the slaughter was again renewed with greater distruction than before. They were pursued to the very ports of their Garrisson, not a third of their whole number escapeing; and all this acted before the Governour had the information they were attacked.

There was one thing very remarkable in this action, that not a single officer belonging to that party escaped being killed; and the reason was, that they were the only persons that had courage to make resistance. Among them there fell a near relation of, and one so beloved by the Governour, that he was usewally called his darling. He was a youth of extraordinary learning and parts; and though he was one of the brightest geniuses and greatest wits of the age, yet he had so much humanity, swcetness, and modesty in his temper, that he was hatted by none, and admired by every person of trew taste. Locheill, when he came after-

wards to be informed of the fate of this young gentleman, regrated it exceedingly, saying, that "it was a great pitty that so fine a youth had been among such bad companey."

It is not easy to express the surprize of the Governour upon seeing the small remains of his party return so suddenly, all covered over with blood and wounds; but when he heard of the death of his darling, his passions swelled into such a rage and fury, that, unable to contain himself, he swore to revenge it upon the bloody authors; and early the nixt morning ordered his whole Garrisson troops to be drawn out. They were above 1500 men, besides 100 more who were mostly invalids, whom he left to keep the fort in his absence; for, by the General's care, he was so well recruited that all his former losses were made up. It was no doubt a mortifying sight for him to behold all the way that he passed strewed with the carcasses of his men, deformed by a variety of ghastly wownds, and many of them weltering in their blood in the last agoneys of life; but the woefull memorey of his darling suspended all other reflections.

Locheill, having timely information of the Governour's motion, was almost as angry as he, that he had not sufficient strength to entertain him. However, he did not think it proper to retreat, but betakeing himself to strong ground, he keept still in view of his enemy as he marched round the mountains with his pyps playing and collowrs flying. As he was well acquanted with the several turnings of the hills, so he watched all opportunitys, and being allwayes upon the higher ground, and some times at a very small distance, he imagined that the enemy, who were in a manner strangers, might possibly come to intangle themselves among the woods, or fall into narrow paths and other obstructions, and inconvenienceys, (whereof there are many in these roads,) as might affoard him an occasion of attacking them. But he was dissapointed of his hopes. For the Governour, after traversing these rugged wayes for many hours, thought it adviseable to turn homewards, and by the help of good guides brought back all his men safe to their Garrisson, heartily fatigued, and much afronted at their fruitless expedition; for they had suffered many insults from the Camerons, who, as oft as the ground

favoured them with a nearer approach, called out to them to "advance!" That, if the Governour wanted to speak with their Chief, he was there! —and the like.

His name now carryed so much terrour with it, that they very seldome hereafter gave him opportunitys of doeing them much harm; but he watched them so dilligently that he now and then snapped up small partys, but not considerable enough to deserve a particular detaile. The many stratagems he used to train them out, the cold and fatigue he sufferred, with several amuseing adventures that befell him on these occasions, are to this day the common topicks of conversation in these parts. I shall take notice of one of them, which, though not more cunning, seems still more memorable than the rest, on account of the consequence. A good part of the revenue of his estate being payed in cattle, and commonly sold to drovers, who dispose upon them to others in Lowland mercats, he imployed a subtile fellow, who haunted the Garrison, to whisper it adroitly among the suldiers, that a drove belonging to himself was on a certain day to pass that way, and that Locheill himself, being now returned to General Middletoun, it might be easily made prize of. In a word, the fellow managed it so, that it came to the Governour's ears, who gave private orders to seize the cattle.

Again[st] the day prefixt, Locheill ordered some cowes with their calfs to be driven, with seeming caution and privacy, to a place at a proper distance from Inverlochy; but before they came there, the calfs were taken from their mothers, and were driven separatly a short way before them, though alwayes in their eye. This, as it gave from a distance the appearance of two droves, so it occasioned a reciprocal lowing and bellowing, which being reverberated by the adjacent hills and rocks, made a very great noise. The souldiers were quickly allarmed, and ran, without observing much order, as to a certain prey; but Locheill, who lurked with his party in a bush of wood near by, rushing suddenly upon them, with loud crys, and [had] the killing of them all the way to the Garrisson. The Governour was so angry at the frequent tricks putt upon him, and he fell upon a way of watching him so narrowly, that he soon brought him into very great danger of either being killed or made prisson-

er ; for a few days thereafter, he had an express from General Middletoun, with the woefull account of the defeat of a detatchment of his army at Lochgarry, by Major-General Morgan, who, with a considerable army, surprized and killed many of his men while they thought themselves in absolute security.

The loss was not so great as the discouragement ; for his former success, joyned with Locheil's in Lochaber, had not only increased the hopes of the Loyalists, who sent him more frequent assurances of their being prepared to joyn him, as soon as he appeared in the countrey ; but gave him the boldness to invite the King over again, the nixt spring, to head the army in person ; and to assure his Majesty, that upon his appearance he wowld soon find the whole kingdom, (where the servitude they groaned under had intirely putt an end to all the jarring factions that formerly ruined all,) ready to declair in his favours as one man. But the unhappy ruffle I have mentioned putt ane end to all these promiseing appearances. The Generall, by the same express, ordered Locheill to attend him immediatly, but not so much with a view of continueing the warr, as of concerting measures for concludeing it as honourably as they could in their present circumstances.

Though Locheill prepared for his journey with all imaginable privacey, yet the Governour gott notice of it, and sent informatione of it to General Morgan, insinuating the great service he wowld doe their common master, if he had the good luck either to take or kill him. Locheill was well enough apprysed of his great danger, and, therefore, [marched] not only through the most secret and inaccessible parts by day, but sleept all night in the mountains, with centries posted in convenient places for his security. He had about 300 good men in his retinue, with provisions to serve them till their returne.

Having reached the countrey called Breamar, he took up his quarters in certain small hutts, which are everywhere to be mett with in the mountains, and are commonly knowen by the name of sheallings, which seems to be a corruption of the word sheildings. They are built occasionally for the shelter of cow-herds and dary-maids, who reside therein during the summar season ; and as they are often obliged to remove

from place to place for the conveniencey of pasturage, so these hutts are nothing but a few sticks, with the lower end fixt in the earth, and bound together, at the tops, with small rops or woodies, and slightly coverred over with turff. Such was Locheil's quarters, where the fatigue of the day, and a strong constitution, made him sleep soundly upon a bed of *sweet hadder* during the night, with the crops turned upwards, without any other bed-cloaths but his plaid. Nixt morning, before he awaked, he was intertained with a dream or vision, which looked like an inspiration from heaven to save him, by a kind of miracle, from the hands of his enemys. He imagined that a man of a low stature, but pretty thick, with a reid grizely beard, and dissordered countenance, came to him, and stricking him smartly upon the breast, called out, "Locheill, gett up, for the borrowing-days will be soon upon yow!" These are the three last days of March, which being commonly tempestous, prove fatal to sheep, lambs, and such other cattle as are much weakned by the severity of the preceeding winter. They are said to be borrowed from Aprile, which is the reason why they bear that name among the vulgar.

Locheill, who, as he had no regaird to dreams, so, though he awaked, fell quickly asleep again, but the same person comeing to him a second time, gave him, as he imagined, another box on the same part, calling out as before, but somewhat louder. Upon this he started from his sleep, and beliving that a gentleman of his retinue, who lay by him, in another bed, had done this for his diversion, he chid him heartily; but upon the other's denying it, he again fell fast asleep, for he had been extreamly fatigued the day before; but the little red-bearded man appeared a third time, and doubling the weight of his blow, cryed allowd, as in a fright, "Arise quickly, Locheill, arise, for the borrowing-days are already upon yow!" Att this he gott up from his bed in amaze, and before he had time to putt on his hose, he was surprized with ane account that all the fields were covered with horse and foot, and that a party of them were just entering the door.

Without asking questions, he left the cottage with precipitation, and luckily escaping to the top of the nixt hill, he had there leisure to view

the numbers of his enemys. They consisted of one regiment of dragoons, which General Morgan had, upon the information I have mentioned, sent into those parts with orders to joyn some companeys of foot from the Castle of Killdrummy, a strong old house, once the seat of the Earls of Mar, where they lay in garrisson; promiseing the officer that commanded them a great reward if he brought in Locheill, either dead or alive. How the officer came to stumble upon him in that retired place, is still unknown; but it is certain that he advanced through roads where it was thought no horses could pass, with so much secrecey and caution, that he got unobserved through three several guards of Locheil's people, (who, it wowd seem, were asleep,) and surrounded the cottage before any person knew of his being there. Some of Locheil's men, with all his baggage, wherein were several valuable things, and among them a great quantity of unsett diamonds, besides a duzon of silver spoons curiously wrought, and on which the whole decalogue was ingraved with great art, fell into the enemy's hands.

Locheill, though he continued his journey with all imaginable caution, was the same day very near precipitating himself into a danger as great as that he had escaped; for, when he came towards the evning to approach the place where General Middletoun had appointed to meet him, he perceived a great body of horse and foot advanceing directly to him; but takeing them to be his friends, marched on till he came within musquett shott of them; nor did he discover them to be of the enemy till they saluted him with a discharge of their carrabins. Locheil's party returned the salute, killed a few of them, and quickly retiring to a neightbouring hill, he drew up his party, and resolved to fight them, in case they attacked him under such a disadvantage of ground. But the enemy retiring, he sleept all night upon the top of a high mountain, where, being secure from horse, he was not much affraid of foot. He afterwards found that those were the very same people that had visited him in the morning; for he having for his security made a compass round, and marched upon the highest and most inaccessible parts of the mountains till he came near to his appointment, the enemy, who had keept an eye upon him, marching by nearer wayes, gott before him, and wowld have

undoubtedly succeeded in their designes, had not they fired too soon, and the night favoured his retreat.

He did not loose so much as one man; and the nixt day mett with the General, with whom he stayed a few days, and returned privatly into Lochaber; for the season was now too far advanced to keep the fields longer, and the General having, in a counceill of war, determined to retire all winter into the Isles, with a few English gentlemen and other strangers who cowd not otherwayes live in security, the army brock up, and shifted for themselves in the best manner they could. Some of them went with Locheill into Lochaber; others of them joyned the Moss-troopers, which afterwards became very numerous; and others lurked among their friends till the spring of the year, that they made their peace.

Dr Skinner, whom I have formerly mentioned, gives us the trew secret that induced the General to give over the war:—"The Usurper, Oliver," says he, "being not yet warm in his seat, and knowing how many enemys he had both to his person and fortune, and had greatly apprehended their riseing in the Highlands as a prelude to a furder insurrection in England, and having greater and more necessarey affairs upon him than prosecuting a war in the Highlands, had by his secret agents attempted some of the Scotch nobility and gentery in the army, and lett them know, that for their heasty riseing he was content to accept their submission; and upon laying down their arms, and returning quietly to their houses, they should be restored to their estats and fortuns; which being offered to them in the midst of so many straits, besides the decay of their forces, and the ill posture of their affairs, induced them not to putt all to hazard upon so great dissadvantage, but rather submitt, for the present, in expectation of some more fortunate opportunity for recovering their liberty, and restoreing their King."

Nothing memorable happening Locheill this winter, he and the gentlemen that were with him waited upon the General, whom they found att Dunvegan, the principall seat of the family of Macleod, in the Isles of Skye, many Chiefs and other officers likewayes attending him. After long deliberation, it was concluded, that the best course they could

take was to submitt themselves before their utter ruine was finished, seeing the King was not in a condition to support them, either with men, money, or arms. The General, in consequence of this resolution, crossed the seas into France; but a few days before he embarked, he presented Locheill with the following declaration :—

"John Middletoune, Leutenant-General nixt and immediatly under his Majesty, and Commander in Chief of all the forces, raised and to be raised within the Kingdom of Scotland. Seeing the Laird of Locheill has showed so much true loyalty and affection to his Majesty, and the good of this kingdom, as never to have submitted to the enemy, but to have acted against them, and charefully to have ingadged in this late war at the first undertaking of it, wherein he has been very active, and has given frequent proofs of his fidelity, courage, and conduct, and hath constantly stood out to the very last, notwithstanding all difficultys, I find myself obliged to be carefull of his honour, preservation, and concernments; and, therefore, doe hereby declair my hearty approbation of his good services, and that I shall not be wanting in giveing testimoney of it to his Majesty, and elsewhere upon all occasions: And withall, I doe hereby allow and desire him to take such speedy course for his safety, by capitulation, as he shall see fitt, seeing inneveetable and invincible necesity hath forsed us to lay aside this war, and that I can doe nothing else for his advantage. In testimony whereof, I have signed and sealed these presents att Dunvegan, the last day of March, 1655.

(Signed) "Middletone."

In the mean time, his friends at Inverlochy began to take more liberty than they formerly did: They had no enemy to fear while he was absent; and the officers being informed that the fields and hills abounded with great variety of game, they sometimes ventured to take their diversion that way, but still in bodys, and guarded by a good number of troops. Locheill had notice of all that passed as soon as he arrived, and quickly conveening a party of his usewall followers, he attended at a convenient place till he was informed that another hunting-match was agreed upon.

Their former success having now removed all their fears, they, for their better diversion, resolved to hunt separatly, and made wagers about their game. Many of the principall officers were ingadged in this match, and each company had a small party of souldiers attending them, having previously aggreed upon a place near the Garrison where they were to meet at night.

Locheill having, from a convenient post, taken exact notice of their several routs, with the numbers of the partys, he divided his men into as maney, and dispatched them with orders to follow at some distance, till they cowld find their oppertunitys ; and then, falling suddenly upon them, to allow as few to escape as possible. These orders were executed with that success, that the greatest part of them were killed, and the rest made prissoners. The loss of so many officers was new matter of astonishment and grief to the Governour ; who, from the fatall proofe, concluding that his enemy was returned, discharged all hunting-matches for that season, and tooke such precautions that Locheill found few more opportunitys of injureing him. For the Governour, having now got himself accquanted with the scituation of the countrey, fell upon means of getting exact intelligence of all that passed. The Garrison, as I have elsewhere hinted, consisting of two regiments, and these of 1000 men each, they had many followers, besides their wives and children. These people building them houses, at a proper distance from the fort, they gradwally increased by the accession of others of desperat circumstances, whom the hopes of gain, and the security of living safe from the prosecutions of their defrauded creditors, allured from all parts of the kingdom ; so that this subburbs of the Garrison wowld have soon increased into a tolerable mercat town in those remote parts, if the restoration of the Royall Family had not putt a stop to it.

It was no great difficulty for the Governour to find, among such a confluence of needy desperadoes, many bold, cunning fellows, proper enough for spyes and intelleginurs. Locheill no sooner mett with them, as he often did, but he commanded them to be hanged without delay. But still their numbers increased, and he found himself so unsafe, by the continwall watch they keept upon his motions, that it was at least danger-

ous for him to lodge near the precincts of the Garrison. Such of his own people as settled among them, or lived in the neightbourhood, not exceepting the very meanest, continueing still faithfull to him, he made use of them as counter-spyes; and by their means it was that he so often discovered those mercenary villans, and very frequently escaped being surprized himself.

Some dayes after the affair with the officers, he called together some of the principall gentlemen of his Clan, and accquanted them with the resolution of giveing over the war for that time, of the departure of the General, and of many other particulars relateing thereto. He told them that he was now the only Chief that stood out, and that he inclined still to continue in that scituation, if he thought that he could doe any service to his King or countrey, but as all these agreeable hopes had intirely vanished by the general submission of all that he could expect any assistance or support from, the nixt thing that he was to consider was the present intrest of his friends and followers: That, as they had been long in a state of war, so their countrey was much impoverished, and that, therefore, he was determined to take the first opportunity of bringing about an honourable peace: That he hoped soon to have it in his power, but that the methods he had projected were not yet to be discovered; because, as a great dale depended on chance, so there was a necessity of keeping all private till the execution; and if he failed in that, he was resolved to waite another occasion, for he wowld not submitt untill he had his terms at his own makeing, which was a favour not to be obtained till he was in a condition to compell the enemy to come into his measures.

As those gentlemen were still more and more pleased with the behaviour of their Chief, whom they now looked upon as a person of the greatest capacity and conduct, as well in the forming as in the execution of his designs, so they unanimously submitted themselves to his judgement, and intreated him to accept of their assistance in executing whatever he had projected. Locheill made choise of such of them as he judged most proper for his designs, and desired the rest to be in readieness, in case they should be called for. With these and fifty more in his companey, he sett out, with the greatest caution and privacey ima-

ginable, for Cowall, a cowntrey which lyes opposite to Inverarey. The cause of this sudden expedition proceided from an express he had received the day before from the Laird of M'Naghtan, a near relation of his oun, with whom he keept a closs correspondance, who lived in the neightbourhood of Inverarey. He was Chief of his name, eminent for his loyalty and bravery, and of the greatest honour and integrity. He was a constant follower of the great Montrose, and afterwards joyned in all the ensueing wars. He rendered himself so obnoxious to the Marquess of Argyle his neightbour, that he was obliged to sculk long among the mountains with the Moss-troopers, who were to be found in every place where there were English troops.

Locheill, observing his former cautious method of travelling, still keept the tops of the mountains, and never trusted himself all night to a house. He mett with M'Naghtan at the place appointed, and having conversed privatly with him for some hours, he continued there till the approach of the evening without discovering his intentions. When he thought he had just as much time as was necessarey for executing what he and M'Naghtan had concerted, he marched silently with his men to a village upon the sea-side, about four miles distant from Inverarey, called Portuchrekine ; where arriving about one in the morning, he expressed himself to his party in the following terms :—"Att a small distance from this," said he, "there is an inn, where I am informed that there are three English Collonells lodged this very night. They were delegated by General Monk with a commission to survey the state of all the Garrisons and fortified places in this part of the Highlands. They have been already at Invereray, where I watched all opportunitys to have made them prissoners ; but they were so much upon their guard, that they both went and came by sea, by which it was impossible to come att them. However, I hope they have given us now a fairer opportunity of seizeing them ; for, being now on their return to make their report, they lodge securely without any apprehension of our being so near them. They have a strong guard of suldiers with them, but they are dispersed through the neightbouring villages for conveniencey of quarters. It is probable they may have a centry at the door, and some officers and servants lodged

with them in the house, and, therefore, to prevent resistance, I have contrived the following stratagem, which may be executed quickly, easily, and without danger of alarming their guards. The house being built of lyme and stones, it will be no easie matter to breck throw the wall, or to force open the door; we most therefore steall softly to it, and after seizeing the centry, (if there be any,) we must each of us take hold of the timber or kebbers that support the roofe at the back side of it, and pulling all at once, there will be an opening large enough for us all to jump in att the same time, and to make every person in the house our prissoners, without distinction. If we faill in this, we must putt fire to the thatch of the roofe, by which we will either destroy them, or become masters of their persons. If their guards are allarmed, which is the worst that can happen, I expect yow will beheave after your ordinary manner; but be sure to make as maney prissoners as possibly ye can, that being the chief thing I presently aim att."

Locheill, having thus lett his party into his designs, they marched softly to the inn, where they found all quiet, and executed the projected stratagem with that expedition and success, that they were in a moment masters of every person within it. Without staying to examine the quality of their prisoners, (who were all in the outmost surprize and confusion,) they hurryed them away to a boat, which M'Naghtan had provided for them, and having ferryed them to the opposite side, they were not allowed to halt till Locheill had them in a place of security. Besides the three Collonells I have mentioned, he had (with all their servants) severall other officers of note, and among them one Lieutenant-Collonell Duncan Campbell, a gentleman of his accquantance.

It were in vaine to attempt to describe the condition of these gentlemen, when they found themselves in the power of their enemys, whom they considered as savages, and the most fierce and barbarous of mankind; but Locheill, after the first hurry was over, made them soon change their oppinion by the civill and humane treatment which he gave them. Though their quarters were bad, yet they found such a plenty of intertainment that surprised them. Their servants were used in the same way, and Locheill ordered his people not only to entertain them in

the most agreeable manner, but even to distinguish them according to the rank that they had in their master's service. In a word, as the loss of their liberty was the only hardship they had reason to complein off, so they quickly recovered their spirits, and began to converse with ease and freedom.

The fame of Locheil's actions had spread itself over the kingdom, so that non cowld be ignorant of his conduct and bravery. But the horible executions made upon their countreymen in these several rancounters, inspired them with a notion that he was crewell and bloody in his temper. Besydes the relations they had of them, being either from enemys, or from persons that were not well accquanted with the particular circumstances, it is no wonder if they were missrepresented. They were therefore curious to hear matter of fact from those that were present. But Locheil's excessive modesty often deprived them of that opportunity; they became the more fond of the relation, in which, being at last satisfied by Lieutenant-Collonell Cameron whom I formerly mentioned, they were equally surprized at the boldness of his undertakings, and the singularity of his adventures.

The place where these gentlemen were confined was ane Isle in a fresh-water Loch of twelve miles in length, and covered with woods on both sides. It is called Locharkike, and lyes about ten miles north of the Garrison. The scituation of it is from West to East. It never freezes, and its water is admirably light and delicat, being well stored with salmond and other fishes. Att the head of it is a large forrest of red deer, where there is besides great abundance of other game. Locheill, who omitted no civility that he thought wowld add to the pleasure of his guests, carried them to the head of the Loch in a boat, where he was mett by some hundreds of his men, whom he had ordered to be conveened for that purpose. These people, streatching themselves in a line along the hills, soon inclosed great numbers of deer, which, haveing driven to a place appointed, they guarded them so closly within the circle which they formed round them, that the gentlemen had the pleasure of killing them with broad-swords, which was a diversion new and uncommon to them. They passed some days in this forrest very agree-

ably, and were regaled with variety of venison and wild-fowl. They were much diverted with the activitey and address of the Highlanders in all these exercises, and instead of the barbarians they were represented to be, they found them a quick and ingenious people, of great vigour and hardiness.

But what pleased them above all things was their Landlord. His politeness, his good sense, his modesty and witt, joyned with an uncommon vivacity and cheirfulness, and a certain anxiety which he showed on all occasions of intertaining his guests according to their several tastes and humours, made him daily grow in their esteem, and laid the foundation of a friendship which afterwards continued and improved to their mutwall satisfaction. They often tooke occasion to represent to him the necessity of entering into a treaty with their General, whose carracter they drew in the fairest light, though not above his reall meritt: —They alleaged that he had now gained glorey enough, and had given abundant testimoneys of his zeall and attatchment to the Family of the Stewarts; and that it was now high time that he wowld looke to himself: That though it might be possible for him to save himself from his enemys by the advantage of his scituation, yet what could he expect from it, but to add to his oun and the miserys of his people; and to deprive himself of all the pleasures that were suitable to his age and caracter? That as there were none then of his party in arms but himself, so he cowd expect no support nor assistance from any: The whole kingdom was subjected and disarmed, and the General had so many good troops posted through all parts of it, that he could intertain no hopes of future commotions in favours of the exiles.

Though the drift of all Locheil's present designs was to bring about an honourable treaty of peace, yet as he wanted to be advised and courted into it, so he at first politically desembled his intentions, and gave them such answers as made them suspect but small fruits from their mediation and advices:—He said, that no wise man cowd trust his safety in the hands of their Protector, whose whole life was one continued scene of rebellion, ambition, perfidy, hypocricy, avarice, and crewelty. He charged him with all the blood that had been shed during the Civil Wars,

and with the horid murder of the best of Kings : He alleaged that he had not only, under the specious pretext of preserving our Religion and libertys, deprived us of both, but likewayes that he continued to tyranize over the lives and fortunes of the King's best subjects, with more barbarity than ever the Grand Seniour exercised over his Eastern slaves. He then enlarged upon the duty of good subjects, upon the love and regaird that an honest man ought to have for his countrey and the happiness of his fellow-subjects, and upon the obligations that we are under, as Christians, of performing all these dutys, according to our different abilities and circumstances : He said, that though he was in no condition of doing any reall service to his Prince, as affairs were then scituated, yet that Providence, which watched over kings and kingdoms, and often made use of the most wicked instruments to punish the guilt of nations, he hoped in a short time wowld favour them with oppertunitys of serving their King and countrey effectivaly ; and that, in the mean time, it was still in his power to preserve his conscience and honour unstained, and to continue in that innocence, loyalty, and integrity of character, that became an honest man and good subject."

These conferrences being often renued, Locheill allowed himself gradwally to give way to their reasonings, and Collonell Campbell assumeing the priviledges that he thought his former friendship and familiarity intitled him to, insisted so strenously in the debate, that Locheill seemed to be so far overcome by the strength of his arguments, that he acknowleged that it wowld be for his oun and his people's intrest to submitt, provided they could procure such articles as wowld sute with their honour and the advantage of their countrey ; but that, for his oun part, before he would consent to the dissarming of himself and his people, and to involve them in the horrid guilt of perjurey by abjureing the King, his master, and taking oaths to the Usurper, that he was resolved to live as an outlaw, fugitive, and vagabound, without regaird to consequences !

The Collonell replyed : That if he wowld only show an inclination to submitt, there should be no oaths imposed upon him ; that he should have the terms at his own making, and offerred to undertake for the

performance. He alleaged that there was such a contradiction between the judgements that one wowld form of Locheill, from his words and actions in the ordinary occurrances of life, and in his politicks, as wowld not be easie to reconceill: He was wise, cautious, and deliberat in the one, but, in the other, he was not only blind to his own intrest, but obstinate and inflexible to the advice of others who demonstrated the absurdity of his notions: "Can there be any thing," said he, "more ridiculous, than to expose one's self to dangers and miserys, out of ane humorsome view of opposeing a Government that he cannot harm—a Government that has not only established itself upon the ruine of its enemys, but that has also become the terrour of the most powerfull potentates of Europ? The most formidable of her Monarchs doe not think it below their dignity to court our friendship; and yet the Chief of a Highland Clan thinks it a stain upon his honour, to imbrace the peace and friendship that is offered upon terms of his own making!"

Locheill smiled at his friend's railery, and promised to return an answer, with a draught of his proposealls, the nixt day, after adviseing with his friends. He was as good as his word, and the Collonell was the person he fixed upon to carry these proposealls to Generall Monk. He was, however, designed to joyn Sir Arthur Forbes (then a state prissoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, and Locheil's particular friend) in commission with him, and to doe nothing without the advice and concurrance of the Marquess of Argyle, who still honoured him with his friendship as much as ever. He wrote to both, and withall delivered written Instructions, allowing his commissioners pretty much liberty of altering or receding from most of the articles excepting two, which related to the delivery up of his arms, and swearing oaths, which he called preliminarey ones.

The Collonell sett out about the begining of May, and made such dispatch, that he ended with the General again[st] the 19th, and returned to Lochaber about the 22d, bringing the following Letter with him to Locheill:—

"Sir,

"I have this day agreed upon such articles as I shall grant for the comeing in of yourself and party, upon the powers yow gave to Liewtenant-Collonell Duncan Campbell to treat for yow, in regaird it was not held fitt that Sir Arthur Forbess (being a prissoner) should be joyned in commission with him. In case yow shall declair your approbation of these Articles, within fourteen dayes after the date hereof, I am content they shall stand good, and be performed to yow, otherwayes not. I remain, &c. (Signed) George Monk.

"Dalkeith, 19th May 1655."

That General being, himself, a person of great worth and honour, had conceived no small esteem for Locheill, and, on that account, made very few and inconsiderable alterationes in the Articles that were sent to him.

Collonell Campbell acquitted himself with great honour and prudence in his negotiation. He gave the General an exact and faithfull historey of Locheil's adventures, and concluded with a relation of the surprizeing manner how they were seized, and of the civilities and intertainments they afterwards mett with. In a word, he omitted nothing that he thought wowld exalt his friend with the General, and ingratiate him in his favours. The Marquess of Argyle likewayes bestirred himself in this affair. After concerting matters with the Collonell and Sir Arthur Forbess, he waited upon the General at Dalkeith, and explained every article in such a manner, that he shewed there was a necessity of granting them, or that otherwayes Locheill could not live in peace; whereby he wowld be obliged to stand out, which wowld occasion no small disturbance in those parts. His Lordship became guarantee for the performance on Locheil's part.

It is a loss that we have not all the particulars of this very honourable treaty. They were destroyed, with many other valuable records, in a house of Locheil's, which was afterwards burnt by accident. However, the most matterial of the Articles are still preserved in General Monk's letters to him, from which I shall extract them.

The first and second I have already mentioned as preliminary Articles. The first bore that Locheill, in name of himself and of all his Clan and followers, were willing to submitt themselves to the General, and to live in peace, on condition that his excellencey demanded no oaths nor other assurances but his word of honour for the performance. This was granted without any ammendment.—The second, that he himself, and all his friends and followers of the Clan Cameron, should be allowed to carrey and use their arms as formerly, before the warr brock out; they behaveing themselves peaceably. This Article was consented to in general; but restricted in these two particulars:—1*st*, That Locheil's traine, when he travelled out of the Highlands, should not exceed twelve or fourteen armed men, besides his ordinary servants, without a permitt from the General, or any other succeeiding him in that office:—2*dly*, That the gentlemen of the Clan should not travell any where out of their oun countrey with more than a certain number of armed men, to which they were limited; nor were the Camerons allowed to goe from home armed, above a restricted number in company.

The other articles I cannot class in order; but the most material of them are as follows:—The Governour had destroyed a great dale of his green woods; of these Locheill demanded reparation, not only for bygons, but in time comeing. The General ordered it from the date of the capitulation, but for no more. We shall hear more of this hereafter. Locheill demanded a free and ample indemnity for all riots, depredations, cryms, and others of the like nature, comitted by him or his men during the late wars, and preceeding the present treaty; which was granted, as we shall have furder occasion to observe by and by. It was alwayes articled and agreed to, that reparation should be made to such of his tenants, Clan, and following, as had suffered in any manner by the soldiers of the Garrison, &c. Locheil's tenants were owing the cess, tyths, and other publick burdens, from the breacking out of the Rebellion to that time: Locheill was discharged of these by the treaty, on condition that he payed in time comeing.

The famous dispute between him and Macintosh subsisted at that time and long afterwards, as shall be related in its proper place. Loch-

eil's father had made some agreement about it, but that gentleman dying, he began to trouble himself after the peace, which Locheill forseeing, he endeavoured to guard against by ane article in the treaty. What Locheil's demand was with respect to this does no where appear; but there is ane extract of this particular article (which is the eleventh in number) still extant, whereof the words are as follows :—"That the said General Monk shall keep the Laird of Locheill free from any bygone duties to William Macintosh of Torcastle, out of the lands pertaining to him in Lochaber, (not exceeding the sume of five hundred pound sterling,) the said Laird of Locheill submitting to the determination of General Monk, the Marquess of Argyle, and Collonell William Bryan, or any two of them, what satisfaction he shall give to Macintosh for the aforsaid lands in time comeing."

I am sorey that I cannot satisfie the curious reader with respect to the remaining Articles. All I can add is, that they were wholly in favours of Locheill, and that they were faithfully performed. The General demanded no more, on his part, but that Locheill showd make his appearance at the head of his Clan before the Governour of Inverlochy, laying doun their arms in name of King Charles II., take them up in that of the Stats, without mentioning the Protector: That he should afterwards keep the peace, pay publick burdens, and suppress all riots, tumults, thefts, and depredations.

Locheill, being satisfied with the Articles as they were agreed to by the General, in the first place sett all his prissoners att liberty, but resolving to perform the ceremoney of laying doun his arms before he returned answer, he begged the English gentlemen to honour him with their company, that they might bear witnes of his ready complyance with the General's orders, which they willingly agreed to.

Having conveened his Clan, at least such of them as did not reside at a very great distance, he putt himself upon their head, and marched to Inverlochay in good order, attended by these gentlemen. They were dressed in their best cloaths, after the Highland mode, ranged in companeys under the command of the Chiftans or Captains of their respective tribs, and armed in the same manner as if they were marching

to battle. So soon as they began to appear, the Governour drew out his Garrison, and putt them in order upon a large plain, near the fort. The Camerons advanced with their pyps playing, and collours flying, and drew up in two lines opposite to the troops; where, after Locheill and the Governour had mutwally saluted one another, and adjusted the manner of the ceremoney, the Articles of the treaty were read and published with many loud huzzas, and no small appearance of joy on both sides.

It is surprizeing how soon these bitter enemys were reconciled. The Governour had ane entertainment prepared for Locheill and his principall friends; and likewaise treated his men with a plentyfull dinner upon the green, in the same order that they stood. Locheill wowld not allow his men to mix among the souldiers, *least* they should quarell in their cups. But all his care could not prevent an unlucky affair that fell out between one of his gentlemen and Lieutenant-Collonell Allan, ane officer of the Garrison. They differed in some disputs while they were at their bottle; and being heated on both sides, matters proceeded to a challange. To prevent the consequences, the Collonell was putt under ane arrest, and Locheill having undertaken for his friend, the case was submitted to the General, who recommended the examination of it to the Governour, by whom the partys were agreed.

Locheill the same day wrote to the General; and the Governour being then ordered to attend him, he and the officers I have mentioned sett out for Dalkeith the nixt day. The General was much pleased with Locheil's ready complyance, and sent him the letter that follows:

"Sir,

"I have received your letter, dated the 26th May, by which I perceive yow have confirmed the Articles concluded upon your part by Lieutenant-Collonel Duncan Campbell; and I have spoken to Collonell Bryan to examine the bussiness that hath happned between Lieutenant-Collonell Allen and some of your friends. I hope that yow will see your people to live orderly and peaceably, and to pay their cess as the rest of the countrey does, and to be carefull that your Clans keep no

brocken people among them, nor disturb the peace of the countrey. This is all at present from, &c. (Subscribed) GEORGE MONK.

"Dalkeith, 5th June 1655."

No sooner was this treaty of peace spread abroad, than numberless prosecutions were raised against the Camerons for cryms and delinquencies committed by them during the late war; and some went so far as to pretend to call them to ane account for things done while they served under Montrose.

Locheill had immediatly recourse to the General, who not only commanded the army, but was likewayes soone therafter Preses to the Counceil of State, that governed all publick affairs; whereby, having sufficient authority to make good the Articles on his part, he wrote to the Criminal Judges, then rideing their circuitt at Inverness, in these terms:

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"The greatest part of the people of Lochaber being included in the Articles made upon the comeing in of the Laird of Locheill, whereby it is concluded, that neither himself nor any of his party shall be questioned for any thing done during the late wars; and being informed, that there are diverse suits commenced against several of the people of Lochaber, for things done in Montrose his time, I desire yow, for the preservation of fewds and occasioning new troubles, yow will not give way to any suites to be heard that relate to any action done in the said time, before his capitulation. I remain your very affectionat friend and servant, (Subscribed) GEORGE MONK.

"Dalkeith, 20th September, 1655."

Though this letter answered the designe with these Judges, yet others, who had been injured in the same manner, commenced new actions against them before the sherriff of Inverness, which again obliged Locheill to apply to the General; who, being now personaly acquanted with him, from hencefurth became in good earnest his friend and protector.

Locheill laid his whole grivances before him, and was redressed in

every particular. Though the General commonly wrote in a very laconick stile, yet his letter on this occasion relates to so many different matters, that it is too long to have a place here. He was so carefull to prevent the consequences of the suites depending before the sherriff of Inverness, that he not only procured an order from the Counceill discharging that Judge to sustain proces for any cryme comitted preceeding the first of June 1655, but *least* that should miscarey, he sent a double of it, attested by himself and the Clerk of Counceill, directed to Collonell William Bryan, Governour of Inverlochy, but advised him to dispatch a trustee of his own, with orders to deliver it to the Judge, whom, if he did not comply, he promised to prosecute before the Counceill for his disobedience.

These repeated orders having putt an effectwall stop to so many troublesome suites, the Camerons were at quiet for some years.

Lochiell had frequently complained that his estate was overvalued with respect to publick burdens. The General sent him many letters with respect to that particular; and still advised him to pay them in the manner they were then laid on, *least* the Marquess of Argyle his warrantee should be putt to trouble by his non-performance, which might be constructed as a breach of the Articles of his capitulation; but assured him of redress, in case his people payed more than what was their legall share: But Locheill, not being fully satisfied with this, the General procured him the mannagement of all the publick revenues of that countrey, and in order to make it easie, wrote to the Commissioners for valuation of the shyre in his favours, which putt an end to that question. He likewayes ordered him payment for all the green woods made use of by the Governour of Inverlochy since the treaty. The reader will find many of his letters relative to the above, and other following particulars, in the Appendix, to which he is referred. But it may be proper to observe here, that the General changed his addresses after executing of the treaty, for the first letters he wrote him were directed simply "To the Laird of Locheill, alias M'Coldui," (the patronimick of the family.) But after that, his addresses are sometimes "To Collonell Ewen Came-

ron, Laird of Locheill;" and at others he adds the epithete, "Honourable." He continued a close correspondence with him till the Restoration, and afterwards gave him many proofs of his friendship, which he honoured him with while he lived. But to return.

There having happned some differance between Locheill and young M'Martine of Letter-Finlay, one of the principall gentlemen of his Clan, concerning the supperiority of that estate, which he inclined to have held of himself, the matter proceeded so far that he turned the young man out of his estate, and forced him to quitt that countrey. Old M'Martine, the father, joyned his Chief, and all his tribe followed his example. The General, having been informed of what passed, interposed, by a letter, and desired him to restore the gentleman to his lands, unless he had some just grounds for keeping them. He answered him at the same time, that he had no quarell with him on that account, nor wowld on any other, if he beheaved himself as he ought to doe. But Locheill, by his authority and prudence, mannaged matters so that he brought that gentleman to his oun terms, and putt him again in possession of all that he had taken from him. Non of his Clan ever after this presumed to despute his pleasure, and General Monk was so well satisfied with his conduct, and the reasons he gave for mentaining a necessary authority, that he never middled more in any thing relating to the government of his Clan.

The libertys these people had been indulged, during the long and bloody wars that preceeded, rendered them so loose and licentious, that it was not an easy affair to manage them. Their Chief was now and then obliged to use some severitys that he very much dissliked. He began to think that the setting of a Minister of sense and piety among them might be of some service in reclaming them; but the turbulent tempers of the Clergeymen of these times, joyned with their stupidity and ignorance, their avarice, pride, and crewelty, whereof he had seen so many instances while he was with the Marquess of Argyle, gave him so bad ane oppinion of them, that he was affraid to admitt any into the countrey; out of a just apprehension that they might, in time, infuse a spirite of enthusiasim and dissobedience into his people, under the dis-

guise of trew religion. This having keept him long in suspense, he was at last made believe that there was some possibility of finding out such a person as he wanted ; and wrote to the General about it. But notwithstanding that he received ane answer as favourable and civil as he possibly could expect, yet his aversion to the Presbyterian Clergy made him so backward and cold in the affair, that nothing was effectwally done, till Major John Hill was appointed Governour of Inverlochy in place of Brayen.

This gentleman being of a more religious temper than his predecessor, prevailed with him to admitt of one whom he recommended ; and in order to gain his complyance the more easily, he obtained a grant from the Counceil of eighty pounds yearly for the support of that, and the Minister he had chosen for the nixt parish, under pretence that there was not a sufficiency of tyths to mentain him. This act is signed by General Monk, in name and by order of the Counceil.

Notwithstanding all the wars and difficultys that Locheill had been ingadged in, he found time to indulge his passion for a beautifull young lady with whom he was several years in love. She was the sister of Sir James M'Donald of Slate, the reputed heir of the antient Lords of the Isles, and Chief of the M'Donalds. As this gentleman was blessed with a very opulent fortune, which his family still possesses, so he had distinguished himself in the late wars by his loyalty and courage ; and was in truth a Chief of great merite. Though Locheill was a fond lover, and had often visited his fair mistress, yet he did not think it convenient to marry her till now, that his affairs were pretty well settled. The matrimonial contract bears date the 24th February 1657 ; and the wedding is still memorable for its magnificence, and the great confluence of loyall gentrey that were inveeted to it from all parts. Among these was a cousine-german of the bridegroom's, the young Laird of Glenurchy, who was already conspicuous for that profound judgement, penetration, and capacity, that afterwards accquired him so high a charracter, and advanced him into the Peerage, in the reign of King Charles II., under the title of the Earle of Breadalbane. Some of his retinue had the missfortune to be arrested, as they passed throw Inverness, for carrying

arms; but Locheill having certified that they were of his Clan, and shown that they were intituled to the use of their arms by his treaty with the General, they were all liberated. Nor seems it improper here to be observed, that this privelidge was of great use to the neightbouring Clans, for he generously communicated it to all that demanded the favour, by granting certificats that they were Camerons; so that, in a short time, his name became so numerous as to spread itself over a great part of the Highlands.

He soon thereafter brought his lady to Lochaber, and was complimented by his Clan with a sume equall at least to all the charges of that expensive wedding. Att this meeting he was agreeably intertained by a Highland Bard, who sung or recited his verses after the manner of the antients, and who inherited no small portion of their spirite and simplicity. He laboured under the common missfortune of the brotherhood of Parnassus, and came all the way from Breamar, or thereabouts, to petition for three cows that had been taken from him in the late wars. He artefully introduced himself by a panegyrick on the Chief; and while he magnifys his power, he ingeniously compliments his Clan, whose friendship and protection he begs: He makes frequent mention of those qualitys that were most for his purpose with cunning enowgh, for as pity, generosity, and compassion, are virtues inseperable from great sowls, so they answered his aim in opening the hearts of those whom he petitioned.

The Poem is wrote in a strong, nervous, and masculine stile, abounding with thoughts and images drawn from such simple objects as he had either seen or occasionaly heard of; but expressed in a manner peculiar to the emphasis and genius of the Gaulik, for he understood no other language. Here is no ostentation of learning, no allusions to antient fable or mythology, no far-fetched similes, nor dazeling metaphors brought from imaginary or unknown objects. These are the affected ornaments of modern poetry, and are more properly the issue of arte and study than of nature and genius. But the beauty of this consists in that agreeable simplicity, in that glow of imagination and noble flame of fancy, which gives life and energy to such compositions; but which, I am afraid, is

lost in the following translation. As I attempted it with no other view but to gratifie the curious, so I have, for their furder satisfaction, given also a literall version, in prose, which the reader will find in the Appendix. Though neither resembles the original more than the naked and dissfigured carcass of a murdered hero does a living one in full vigour and spirite; for the Gaulick has all the advantages of an original language. It is concise, copious, and pathetick; and as one word of it expresses more than three of ours, so it is well known how impossible it is to preserve the full force and energy of a thought or image in a tedious circumlocution. The translation is as follows:

To Abrian shoars I wing my willing flight,
To see with wondring eyes the matchless Knight,
The generous Chief, who the brave Clan commands,
And waves his bloody banner o're the lands.
The Hero, to whom all that's great belongs:
The glorious theam of our sublimest songs,
Whose manly sport, the savage is to trace,
Inur'd to toyle, and hard'ned in the chase.

Strong as an eagle, with resistless blows
He falls impetuous on his fiercest foes.
His fiercest foes beneth his arm must dye,
Or quick as birds before the falcon flye.
Keen to attack, the approach of danger fires;
A mighty foe, still mightyer force inspires;
His courage swells the more that dangers grow,
And still the Hero rises with the foe.

Oft I, young Chief, have heard thine actions told,
Thy person prais'd, thy generous name extol'd;
Now to my eyes, these graces stand confest,
With which kind Fame my ravished eares possess'd.

See! his fresh looks with manly beautys glow,
His brawn and air, his strength and vigour show,
In just proportion every feature shines,
And goodness softens the majestick lines,
The charms of modesty through all we trace,
And winning sweetness smiles in every grace.

What numerous Tribes thy lov'd commands obey?
In shining helms, and polished armour gay;
Brave champions all, whose brawny arms doe weild
The offencive broad-sword and defencive shield.
Ah! many a foe has then laid victime been,
And hapless widows mourn their edge too keen.

Immortal Chief! with early triumphs croun'd,
Thy conduct guids, thy courage gives the wound.
Matchless the guns, the bows well-backed and long,
Pointed the shafts, the sounding queavers strong;
Dreadfull the swords, and vigurous are the hands
Of our well-bodied, feirce, and numerous bands—
Bands, whose resistless fury scours the field,
Greedy of slaughter, and unknown to yield!

Hence your fierce Camerons, (for that name they bear,)
As masters rule, and lord it every where.
Ev'n of such pow'r might sceptred Monarchs boast!
Happy when guarded by so brave ane hoaste;
Ane hoast, whose matches no one Chief can tell,
In arms to equall, or in strength t' excell.

O lett me, Sir, their lov'd protection gain,
For this I came, nor did I come in vaine!
Great as their courage is, their generous mind,
To want still liberal, and to suffering kind!

But first to thee, Great Chief, I make my moan;
Heroick Ewen! Thow sone of prudent John,
Illustrious Allan's heir, with beauty crown'd,
And as a lyon bold, when foes surround.

If, or your judgement does approve my song,
Or, if my sufferings claim redress of wrong—
Three cows well-fed, (nor more, alas! had I,)
With drink and food sustain'd my poverty;
These I demand, oh! they the victims are
Of lawless ravage, and destructive war.

Nor I to those with doubtfull hopes complain,
Whose liberal hands did former wants sustain.
My losses, now repeated, aids demand,
Since I nor milk, nor other cow command—
Else I all summer must on herbage dine,
And in the cold of shivering winter pine!

Brave Callaurt, with the shineing armour shone,
I nixt adress: To thee I make my moane.
Yow to the field, the embattled warriours lead,
And hear with pitty when poor sufferrers plead;

Your nat'ral goodness does my hopes secure,
Nor need I tell yow more, but that I'm poor!
With thee I joyne brave Dougal's worthy heir,
And Martin's sone, who all the virtues share.
Witness, O! Heavens! how I esteem the three,
So much enobled by their ancestry!

Locheill and his company were very generous to the poor Poet; for besides his three cowes, they gave him 300 merks in money, in order to incourage his vein. It was unlucky for him that he did not mention

more of these gentlemen, for those he omitted were not so liberal as the rest. However, he returned home very well contented, and made all the rocks and woods resound with the praises of Locheill and his Camerons, in his poeticall compositions, which are still highly esteemed in these parts, and are often the agreeable intertainment of the ingenious.

About the begining of the last war, a detatchment of the army happning to meet with Sir Alexander Livingstone, natural sone to the Earl of Callander, as he, with a good number of servants and followers, were travelling through those moors betwixt Badenoch and Athole, attacked and defeated them ; whereby they became master of a great dale of valuable moveables, which that gentleman was conveying home from Inverness, where they had been for the greater security depositated during the fury of the preceeding wars.

All that Locheill got of this booty was a fine horse, which he afterwards gifted to the Laird of M'Naghtan. Neither the General nor he condemned the action, in so far as the Earl, to whom these goods belonged, had alwayes acted against King Charles I. on the side of the Covenant ; and though it is possible that he might have joyned the present King, yet they tooke that for no proofe of his loyalty, because the greatest part of the Covenanted Lords were forced into that service against their will, by the general torrent of the nation, which almost unanimously declaired for their Soveraign ; nor was any person thought trewely loyall, but such as afterwards gave more evident testimonys of it.

However the matter was, the Earl, having gott information that several Camerons were in that party, and that their Chief (though not there in person) was complimented with his son's horse, he raised action before the Criminal Judges against Locheill, as accessorey, and against his men, as actors in the alleaged robbery. Before the day of appearance, Locheill having thought it proper to apply to his ordinary protector the General, he procured the following letter or order from the Counceill to the Earl :

"My Lord,

"His Highness' Counceill here are given to understand that your Lordship hath raised criminall letters against Ewen Cameron of Locheill and others, for ane alleaged ryot done against Sir Alexander Livingstoune in the year 1650: Upon consideration whereof, and of the practice in former times, for those intrusted with the Government of this nation, to give indemnity to all thefts and robberys comitted in time of war, that so such things, being in oblivion, the publick peace might be the better preserved: The said Counceil, looking on it as of consequence to the publick peace that men be not criminally prosecuted for things of that nature, done in time of the war, have thought fitt to signify unto your Lordship their sense thereof; and for the reasons aforsaid to desire your Lordship to desist prosecution against the said Laird of Locheill, or others, for any alleaged riot in the year 1650, being in the time of war; or otherwaise, to shew cause to the Counceill to the contrairy. Signed in name and by order of the Counceill.

(Signed) "George Monk.

"Edinburgh, 8th Aprile, 1658."

Directed on the foot, "To the Right Hon. the Earl of Callander."

This letter stopt the prosecution for this time, but his Lordship was pleased to move it again after the Restoration, by a petition to the Parliament, as shall be observed in its due place. But here, however, it will be proper to notice, that the above accident was in [16]51, and not in [16]50, as the letter bears; for the complaint to the Parliament setts furth the matter to have happned after the sack of Dundee, and when the English were become masters of the kingdome, which agrees with the time when the Highlanders began the last war, which was in the end of harvest 1651, as is before related.

The reader has been already informed of the obligation that Locheill was under by the eleventh Article of his treaty to submitt the yearly revenue he should be obliged to pay to Macintosh for the disputed lands of Glenluy and Locharkike, from the date of the said treaty, to the Marqueiss of Argyle, the General, and Collonell Bryan. The General

had, agreeably to the said treaty, satisfied Macintosh of all he could aclaym preceeding it; but there was no agreeing of the partys for the time to come. The arbiters had frequent meetings about it, as appears from many of the General's letters; but Macintosh, insisting obstinatly for the absolute property, and Locheill being no less resolute, on the other hand, to retain the possession, as his predecessors had done, but still willing to pay him a sum of money in consideratione of his clame, the matter brock up, and Macintosh applyed for a legall remedy. Locheill was strongly supported by many of the great ones; but as his antagonist had plainly the advantage of him in point of law, so he was justly apprehensive of being casten in the end, and judged it adviseable to protract the time by taking another course.

Oliver, the Usurper, was now dead, and the General, his friend, was become absolute master of the kingdom, which he governed with great prudence and moderation. Though he was willing to serve Locheill in every thing that was honourable, and had taken all the methods he could think on to prevaill with Macintosh to accept of the sume offered, yet he wowld not derogatt from his integrity, by influenceing the Judges in a matter which the law ought to determine. However, he thought it no wrong to propose a submission in another shape, and in order to bring it about, he wrote to the Judges in the following words :—

"Right Honourable,

"Understanding that there is a bussiness depending before yow, between the Laird of Locheill and the Laird of Macintosh, which has continued these three hundred years in dispute, and hath coast the effusion of much blood; I, therefore, make bold humbly to offer my oppinion to yow, that, for the ending of that bussiness, and for the peace of the country, that, if your Lordships shall so think fitt, it may be referred to two such as they shall agree among themselves, and on whom yow shall think fitt to be oddsman between them; or, in case they shall not agree themselves to name any, that then yourselves will name some fitt persons to end that differance between them. This will be the best way, in my oppinion, to determine the bussiness, both for their satisfaction and the

peace of the country. So, craving pardon of yow for this boldness, I remain your very humble servant, (Signed) George Monk.

"Dalkeith, 20th May 1659."

We hear no more of this affair till the year 1661 again, which time the reader shall have a full historey of its progress and end.

Locheill enjoyed a profound peace during the remainder of this year. He formed his politicks with respect to the different partys in the State, agreeable to what he thought most for the King's intrest. He alwayes expected good things from the General; and was no sooner informed of the desputs between the Parliament and the Generals of the English army, and that General Monk had sided with the former, than he declaired that he wowld support him to the outmost of his power, as will appear from a letter of thanks inserted in the Appendix, which was wrote him on that memorable occasion. Locheill was not dissapointed in his hopes of the good General, who having already projected the Restoration of the Royall Family, mannaged that grand affair with so much secrecy, prudence, and true policy, that he effected it again the nixt spring, to the general satisfaction and joy of the three kingdoms.

MEMOIRS OF LOCHEILL.

BOOK SECOND.

CONTAINING THE MOST MATERIAL PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE, FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

SIR EWEN CAMERON.

It will be naturally expected that, in the happy reign of King Charles II., Locheill would enjoy the fruits of his loyalty with that tranquillity and peace which was the general consequence of the Restoration. But things fell out otherways, and his troubles and difficultys multiplyed so fast upon him, that fortune seemed resolved to putt his fortitude and patience to a full proofe, by the necessity of a continued exercise of these virtues.

It is the general opinion of English writers, that the great General Monk's design in marching his troops into England, extended no further than to crush the factions that then rent the Government asunder, and that the Restoration was brought about by a happy concurrence of circumstances which he did not forsee. But the Scots, who had a nearer view of his conduct, especially dureing the last two years of his administration, are generally of a different opinion; for, though the scituation of the times obliged him to play the politician, and to proceed with the greatest caution and secrecy imaginable, yet, from weighing circumstances, and ballanceing his actions, it seems no hard matter to draw a rational, though not ane absolutely certain conclusion.

Not to trouble the reader with a particular history of his management, dureing the period I have mentioned, I shall only touch att some few things which seem most proper to the purpose, and leave it to himself to form a judgement. As his education and principles were loyall, so it is well known that he served the King with great courage and fidelity, till absolute necessity forced him to accept of a Commission in the Parliament's army ; and though it is true that he seemed equally faithfull to the Usurpers, yet that might proceed from the impossibility he saw there was of doeing any reall service to his Prince by returning to his duety till a proper opportunity offered ; and, indeed, it was observed, that immediatly after the death of Cromewell, he began seriously to apply himself not onely to discover the strength and resolution of that party which stood affected to the King and Monarchy, but allso to search into the humours, dispositions, and characters of the leading men among them.

His most ordinary method was, to seize and incarcerat their persons, and after keeping them in jayle for some time, where they were used with great severity ; often personally, and some times by the most rugged and surly of his officers, he endeavoured to extort a confession of what was laid to their charge. If they persisted in a positive denyall, he threatned them with the boot, a kind of torture then and long afterwards used in Scotland, and att the same time told them, with a rough assurance, that he had intercepted their letters, and had witnesses to prove the facts, and the like. His common charge was, that they corresponded with the King, or with the exiles, or that they harboured his agents ; and many other things of the like nature. Such as confessed he dismissed immediatly, telling them that nothing but their ouning their guilt could have saved their lives ; and it was observed, that from that moment he never more noticed them. But his carriage to those that stood their tryall with resolution and courage was such that soon convinced them that they were in his favour and esteem. He allowed them and their servants the use of their arms, invited them to his table, and entertained them with ane openess of countenance, and a freedom that was extreamly engageing ; besides, he not only assured

them of his friendship and protection, but on all occasions expressed ane inclination to serve them.

The King, encouraged by the information he often had of the General's civilitys to his friends in Scotland, sent to him some of his nearest relations, with orders to engage him, if possible, to declare himself; but he, with his usewal circumspection, declined giveing a positive answer; and though he dismissed these agents without letting them into the secrets of his intentions, yet the King never dispaired of assistance from that quarter. The General, however, lett slip no opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Loyalists; but such as he knew to be friends to the Government, and more especially the fanatical Clergy, he bridled and suppressed in a manner that made both his person and conduct extreamly odious to them. Besides, as he was exceedingly carefull to purge his army of all republicans and fanaticks, and to substitute others in their places, whom he knew would be obedient, so he not onely, in a publick manner, obtained promises and assurances from the nation in general that they would be ready to stand by and assist him in all events; but allso, in particular, from the Chiefs of Clans and others who were any way considerable either for their personal merit, or for their power and interest.

Now, if he had not, even att that time, formed designs of serveing the King, is it reasonable to think, that he would have been att so much pains to gain the friendship, and to secure the assistance of persons who had given the Government so much disturbance, and who continued so unalterably fixed in their principles of loyalty, that he durst never have trusted them in any other than that service? The gentry in general, and a great many of the commons, were armed by his licences, whereof thousands of copys are still extant, and the two last years of his government were so mild and moderat, except with respect to the Clergy, whose petulant and licentious tongues he curbed on all occasions, that the nation would not have willingly chainged it for any other, but that of their natural Prince.

Besides the numerous instances that might be given of his civilitys and respect to the Highland Chiefs, and others who had exerted them-

selves most vigourously in the Royall cause, his friendship for Locheill, whereof I have given many instances, was extreamly remarkable. But whether his confidence proceeded so far as to open his mind, and discover his resolutions of restoreing the King, or whether Locheill, fro his conduct and other hints, onely guessed att his designs, is what I am not sufficiently informed of to assert ; but certain it is, that Locheill understood as much, as he frequently afterwards told. So much was he attatched to the General's person and interest, that he attended him all the way to London in that famous expedition, which, in common gratitude for the great deliverance it brought us, we ought to think the happy effects of a loyall and generous resolution to serve his exiled Sovereign and enslaved country.

The people of England seemed to expect from his hands the deliverance he soon gave them. They came in crouds as he cautiously marched forwards, praying for success to his designs, and presenting petitions for a free and full Parliament. He treated Locheill all the way with great friendship and civility ; and as he was his guest on the road, so, when he reatched London, he was no less carefull to see him provided with all necessarys. He had him allong with him on all occasions where he had ane opportunity of doeing him honour ; and when the King made his triumphant entry into London, the General desired Locheill to keep all the way as near to him as possibly he could ; and when his Majesty alighted, it was his own fault but he held the King's stirrop, as he had ane inviteing opportunity to have done. This effect of his modesty, or rather bashfulness, he had soon reason to repent of ; for another, who had more assurance, gott before him and performed that office, for which he was royally rewarded. The General, who was then allmost adored like a god, did him the honour to introduce him to kiss his Majesty's hands, by whom he was received most graciously ; for, as his character was not unknown to the King, so the Generall had the goodness to inform him, in a few words, of his merit and services. He was likeways introduced by him to the Dukes of York and Glocester ; the former of which, having had the history of his actions from General Middletoun, and, particularly, of the accident of his biteing out the English gentleman's

throat at the skirmish of Achatelew, which was then much talked of att Court, received him with very destinguishing marks of esteem and favour, and very often thereafter took pleasure to jest with him upon that and the other adventures of his youth.

Orders haveing been immediatly thereafter issued out by the General for drawing off the Garrison of Inverlochy, he made a present to Locheill of the houses and other materials that could not be carried away by shipping, and ordered Collonel Hill, then Governour, to deliver up the keys of the said Garrison to him. The grant bears date from Cockpitt, where the Generall constantly resided, the 18th of June 1660.

The famous Marquess of Argile being soon thereafter brought to his tryall before the Parliament of Scotland, was condemned and forfeited, and the sentence putt in execution ; nor could all the great power and interest that the Duke of Lauderdale had att Court ward off this terrible blow, though he afterwards found means to save the honours and estate of the family to his son. The King, who designed that no innocent person should suffer by this forfeiture, sent orders to his Parliament to hear the complaints of all such as had been injured or oppressed by the Marquess dureing the Rebellion, and to receive the claims of all his lawfull creditors, whom his Majesty ordered to be redressed of their losses, and satisfyed of their just debts out of his estate, which now belonged to the Croun by the forfeiture.

Among a multitude of others, Locheill had a considerable claim upon a part of Argyle's estate ; whereof he was in the end dissappointed, by the contrivance of that pernicious minister, the Duke of Lauderdale ; whose wicked politicks, in the event, proved fatall not only to the Loyalists, but even to the Royall Family itself. No claim could be more just and legall than that of Locheil's. Donald Cameron, his uncle, who acted as his tutor in his nonage, and two of his relations of the same name, having, in the years 1650 and 1660, lent to the Marquess the sume of 16,345 merks, for their security of the repayment obtained a wadsett or morgage on a part of the Marquess of Huntly's estate, which then was in Argile's possession by vertue of a gift or grant thereof from the Scots Parliament in the year . . . . But because these gen-

tlemen did not think that a morgage on a forfeited estate was a sufficient security for their money, the Marquess of Argile gave them warranty, in case of eviction, on the lands of Swinart and Ardnamurchan, which was a part of his own ; and they haveing accordingly realized their tittle by infeftment, made it over to Locheill.

The Marquess of Argile had, while in possession of Huntly's estate, bought and acquired right to several very considerable debts owing by that family, and thereupon procured the estate to be adjudged to him by a decree of Parliament, whereby he possessed it as well in virtue of this legall tittle as that of the forsaid forfeiture ; but Huntly, upon the King's Restoration, in order to elude the said legall tittle founded upon the debts bought in against him by Argile, managed matters so, that, instead of accepting back his estate in the way of justice, he procured a new grant of it from the Crown, as falling into his Majesty's hands by Argile's forfeiture. Huntly, being thus repossessed of his estate, free of all the heavy debts that formerly affected it, Locheill was obliged, for satisfaction of the mony owing him by Argile, to have recourse upon the warranty-lands of Swinart and Ardnamurchan, and gave in his claim to the Parliament ; for which purpose he had returned to Scotland about the end of the year 1661. The case having been examined in Parliament, all the members agreed that the claim was just and legall, and made a favourable report of it to his Majesty ; wherein, after high encomiums upon Locheil's gallant behaviour in his Majesty's service dureing the Usurpation, they humbly submitt it to his Majesty's consideration, " If it will not be ane act of equity and justice becomeing his royall goodness, to grant him a charter of the warranty-lands suitable to the extent of the sum."

Full of the assurance of success, he returned to Court, and though he had the great Generall Monk, now created Duke of Albemarle, the Earle of Middletoun, and generally all the Loyallists of both nations, to befriend and assist him with their interest at Court, yet neither the authority of the Scots Parliament, nor the united application of so many great men who had merited so highly of the Crown, nor the justice and equity of the demand, nor even the King's most solemn promises, were

of weight enough to ballance the mischiveous policy of one subtile and designing man.

The person I mean was the Duke of Lauderdale, who was then Secretary of State for Scotland, and managed all the affairs of that kingdome att his pleasure. He was a man of great abilitys; but seemed, by his actions, to have conceived ane irreconcileable enmity against all those who had most eminently merited of the Crown, and to have imployed all his great talents in opposition to them. He is commonly charged with forming his schemes of policy upon this false maxim, that true loyalists and patriots were attached to the Croun from duety and principle, which were sufficient motives to secure their fidelity and services, but that the enemys of the Royall Family, being wholly acted by interest, were to be loaded with favours, and gained by obligations; as if persons of no principle were capable of gratitude, and as if men of honour and probity were divested of human passions, and uncapable of resentment; nor is it to be imagined that a society will flourish, or even can subsist for any time, where vice is rewarded and virtue neglected.

But whoever was the author of this accursed policy, it is certain that the Court went too much into it; by which means, great numbers of these unhappy gentlemen, who, for their services to the Crown, and their zeale for the Royall Family, had lost their estates by the tyranny of the Usurpers, were suffered to languish away the remainder of their lives in a shamefull poverty, to have their familys ruined, and their names destroyed; while those who had been instrumentall in drawing on them and their country these and numberless other miserys, lived in full affluence, and enjoyed the fruits of their wickedness.

Though Locheill had some better fortune, and escaped being totally ruined, which in a great measure he owed to the friendship of the Marquiss of Argile, and afterwards to the protection of General Monk; yet he was a very great sufferer, by being obliged to support the men that he imployed in the King's service at his own charges; and by the other unavoydable calamitys of war. His present demand was not as a reward of his services, though he certainly deserved much more, but claimed in payment of a just debt, and which he had unavoydably recovered, had

not the Marquess been forfeited. He had many reasons for his fondness in attaining to the possession of the warranty-lands I have mentioned; but his principall motive, besides the legall tittle he had to them, was, that they were wholly possessed by a part of his own Clan.

But the Duke of Lauderdale, his perpetual enemy, though his endeavours in favours of the Marquess of Argile proved ineffectuall; yet he resolved not to abandon the son, whom he had a more colourable pretence to support; and haveing then projected methods for restoreing him to his father's estate and honours, he craftily dissapoynted not only Locheill, but all others who had any claim upon the forfeiture.

The first methods he took against Locheill was to protract time, with a view of wearying and fatigueing him by a fruitless attendance and expence; but the King, being perpetually dunned by the continued application of the greatest men of his Court, att last ordered Lauderdale to present the signature or grant of these lands to be superscribed by his Majesty, according to the usewal form; and this being a part of his office, as principall Secretary of State, he was obliged, after repeated orders, to comply at last. But when the grant came to be laid before the King, he took care that there should not be as much ink in the pen as would suffice to write the superscription, so that, when his Majesty had wrote the word "Charles," he wanted ink to add "Rex;" and though the King often called for more, yet by misfortune there was non in the companey.

Lauderdale having thus gained his point, for this time, fell upon other contrivances to dissapoynt Locheil's making a second application; which were, to stirr up new enemys, and to imploy him elsewhere, by giveing him aboundance of work to deffend himself from their attacks; whereby he effectually carryed his designs; for, before Locheill had done with them, Lauderdale finished his schemes of settleing Argyle's family, by procureing a gift of the Marquess his forfeiture to the Earl, his son, and his younger children; whereof we shall have occasion to speak more fully hereafter.

The reader has been already informed, that, in the year 1651, Sir Alexander Livingstone, natural son to the Earl of Callendar, with some

attendants and servants, was attacked by a detachment of the Highland army in the Brea of Mar, where, after a skuffle, wherein Sir Alexander was wounded, he was plundered of a good deale of plate, cloaths, papers, and other moveables, which he was carrying to some place of security. Among those were some of Locheil's men, which the Earl of Callender judgeing to be sufficient grounds for prosecuting Locheill as art and part, that is, as accessory to the riot, in so far as by law he was answerable, and bound for the peaceable behaviour of his Clan, he accordingly raised a criminal process against him in the year 1658; but was stopt by Generall Monk, who procured ane order of the then Councill for that purpose; which the reader will find in the Appendix.

The Duke of Lauderdale of new encouraged my Lord Callender to apply to the Scots Parliament for redress of that loss; assureing him, that he could never find a better opportunity than while the Earls of Glencairn and Middleton, the one Chancellour, and the other Commissioner, were both att Court, and Rothes, who was of his Grace's faction, presideing in their place.

The Earl of Callendar finding himself so powerfully supported, petitioned the Parliament in January 1661; and, notwithstanding it was plead for Locheill that he could not be lyable either as principall or accessory to that riot, in so far as it was committed by a detatchment of the King's troops in the time of ane open war, where he was neither present in person, nor gave any orders about it; that he att most was but the Collonell of one regiment, for which he could not be made answerable in law, while not onely his regiment, but the whole army, was commanded by the King's Generall, who sent out that detatchment, and invested others with the command, whereby it was out of his power to have prevented what happened; and that if any person was criminal, it was either the General, or the person authorized by him: I say, notwithstanding that all this, and a great deale more, was argued for him, both by his lawers and his friends in the Parliament, yet so powerfully did Lauderdale's faction work there, in the absence of the Commissioner and Chancellour, that upon the Earl of Callendar's offering to prove that Locheill actually

received some part of the goods, the Parliament, by a majority of votes, found him guilty, and lyable in the restitution ; and furder declared by their sentence, that upon Callander's makeing out the fact alleadged, they would receive his oath *in litem*, that is, a proofe of the extent of his damages by his own oath. This sentence was exceedingly severe, not to say illegall, for, supposeing that Locheill had committed that violence in the time of peace, att any time preceeding May 1660 ; yet his Majesty's indemnity having pardoned what was criminal in the action, he could be onely lyable in simple restitution, but not to the extent or value that the party putt upon his losses, as made out by his own oath !

The Parliament further granted commission to the Sherriff of Cromarty, and to the Commissioner for the burgh of Montrose, to examine the witnesses to be adduced by the Earl of Callendar for proveing that Locheill had received a part of these goods ; but his Lordship being unable to make out that poynt, Locheill, after a great deale of trouble and charges, was acquitted, in spite of all that Lauderdale and his faction could doe against him. And thus we see that he was worse used by a loyall Parliament, called by a King for whom he had often hazarded both his life and fortune, than he formerly was by the Usurpers, who, rightly judgeing of the affair by the time and circumstances of action, would not so much as sustain process against him.

But before the commencement of this action, Lauderdale had stirred up a more powerfull antagonist against him, the antient and hereditary enemy of his family, who laid claim to a great part of his estate. This was the Laird of Macintoish, who, though the Chief of a powerfull Clan, had for the most part behaved as neuterall dureing the Usurpation ; and, therefore, haveing no pretence to any favour by the merit of his actions, would not have adventured to attack, at that time, a person so well befriended by the Loyalists, had he not been supported by the prevailling interest of Duke Lauderdale.

The originall and progress of this dispute is narrated in the Introduction ; and, therefore, it will be sufficient to putt the reader in mind, that Angus or Æneas Macintoish, haveing, in the year 1291, married the

heiress of the Clan Chattan, thereby acquired ane opulent estate, whereof the Macintoishes pretend that the 40 merk lands of Glenlui and Locharkik, in Lochaber, was a part.

Few Chiefs in the Highlands had any other charters for their estates in those days but their swords ; and the Camerons pretending some tittle or other to that estate, disputed the matter with the Macintoishes, for near the space of 400 years. The Camerons still keept the possession, notwithstanding that Macintoish did, in the year 1337, obtain a charter of that estate from M'Donald, Lord of the Isles, whose exorbitant power extended over the greatest part of the Highlands, and had that charter confirmed by King David Bruce, att Scoon, in anno 1359. The Camerons contravert these facts, and pretend that these charters were never produced in judgement, where their authentickness might have been tryed ; but, supposeing them to be true deeds, yet they haveing still retained the possession, they alleadged that their right to the estate was preferable on that account. However the matter was, the feud still continueing betwixt the two familys, it cost Macintoish the lives of three of his predecessors, and of several thousands of his Clan and following.

But Macintoish, finding that all his attempts by force proved ineffectuall, resolved to make an essay of what he could doe by law, wherein he had, indeed, better success. With this view, Sir Lachlan Macintoish, then Chief of that Clan, and heretable Steward of the lordship of Lochaber, did, in the year 1617, march into that country with a considerable body of men, under the pretence of holding Courts ; but was attacked by Allan Cameron of Locheill, defeated and chaced out of the country. Upon this, he entered a complaint before the King's Privy Councill, where there being none to vindicate Allan, who was afraid to appear, as well on account of his action against Macintoish, as of some other matters of the same kind, for which he could not well answer in law, there were letters, that is, ane order or warrand issued out to charge Allan to surrender himself prisoner, till he was tryed for the crimes whereof he was accused.

But Allan, still apprehensive of the consequence of surrendering himself, thought fitt not to obey the charge, and Macintoish making use of

that advantage, obtained a decree for putting him in possession of the contraverted estate, with letters of outlawry and fire and sword, (that is, ane order directed to the King's sherriffs, and other persons of power, to attack the criminals with fire and sword,) against Allan, his Clan, and all others his abbetters and assistants.

But Macintoish, after a great deale of trouble, not succeeding by force, had the good fortune to seize the person of Allan's eldest son John, as he was on his journy to Edinburgh, to solicite his father's business by the interest of the family of Perth, and other great men who befriended him in his misfortunes. The young gentleman was incarcerated and detained prisoner in Edinburgh for no less than the space of three years. The Councill, notwithstanding of all the intercessions made for him, haveing absolutely refused to dismiss him untill he found sufficient caution and surety, that Sir Lachlan Macintoish should not onely be admitted to the peaceable possession of the estate, but allso that he should enjoy it free from all disturbance of the Clan Cameron for the future. [This forced Allan to compromise the matter, by the mediation of severall persons of quality; and, indeed, he had ane easier bargain than could have been reasonably expected, as affairs were then scituated.]

Thus matters continued till the death of Sir Lachlan; and the Laird of Grant, Chief of a powerfull family of that name, acting as tutor to Macintoish his son, then a minor, did not onely liberat Mr Cameron from his long confinement, but allso made over to him a right of morgage which he had obtained upon these lands, in order to ingage him in the quarrell, from the late Sir Lachlan. But William Macintoish his son, haveing liberat that estate from the said morgage, according to the forms of law, by consigning the sum of 18,000 merks, for which it was impignorated, in the hands of the Provost of Inverness, obtained a decree thereupon against Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill, who was then a child, before the Lords of Session, in March 1639, where none appeared to defend.

Thus were affairs scituated, in January 1661, when Macintoish, encouraged by the Duke of Lauderdale and his faction, and supported by the Earle of Weems, from whose family the Macintoishes say they are

descended, took the opportunity of addressing the Parliament by a petition; wherein he charges the Camerons with rebellion, sedition, and many other the like crimes; because they had hitherto keept him from the possession of ane estate, to which he believed he and his predecessors had so good a tittle in law. The Parliament referred the tryal of the case to a committee of their own number, commonly then called "The Lords on the Bills;" but the Earl of Middleton, the King's Commissioner, and his party, (who were all cavaliers, and of the Tory faction,) opposed the petition with that vigour, that Macintoish began to dispair of succeeding. But, luckily for him, both Commissioner and Chancellour haveing been called to Court in the May following, Lauderdale's faction prevailed so effectually, in their absence, that, on the fifth day of June thereafter, Macintoish obtained a decree of Parliament, adjudgeing the estate in contraversy to him, and decreeing Locheill not only to divest himself thereof, but allso to find surety that neither he nor his Clan should, for the future, molest Macintoish nor his tenants in the peaceable possession thereof, under the penal sum of 20,000 merks.

Locheill, who was then at Court, bussyed in soliciting for a grant of the warrantie-lands I have often mentioned, and of a pension of three hundred pounds sterling for life, which his Majesty then granted him, but never made effectuall, was much allarmed with the news of Macintoish his success. The Parliament was not properly judges of the matter, except in the case of ane appeale from the Court of Session, which is the Supream Judicatory in Scotland in all civill actions, and especially in all pleas respecting lands and other heritable rights. This Court claimed the cognizance of Locheil's affair, and were seconded in it by the Commissioner and Chancellour; but the contrarey party, takeing advantage of their absence, proceeded to sentence. However, Locheill, who never believed that the Parliament would have incroached so far upon the priviledges of the Session, prevailed with the Chancellour, who has, by his office, the power of presideing in all the Courts of Scotland, to write the following letter to that Court in his favours:

"My Lords,

"Since I came to this place, I understand his Majesty has taken such notice of the Laird of Locheill his faithfull service done to him, that he has proposed a way for composeing the difference betwixt Macintoish and him, which will shortly come to your hands: I shall desire you, therefore, if Macintoish offer to take advantage of Locheill his absence, or to prevent his Majesty's commands by insisting in ane action before you against Locheill now in his absence, that you continue the action untill yow know his Majesty's further pleasure, which will be signifyed to yow by my return. This being all at present,

"I am, my Lords, &c. (Signed) Glencairne.

"London, 7th June 1661."

Directed, "For the Lord President,
and Lords of Session, now sitting
att Edinburgh."

The Lords of Session, haveing intimated the Chancellour's letter to the Parliament and Privy Councill, all further procedure was stopt till July 1662, when Macintoish obtained a decree of removeing against Locheill and his Clan, before the Lords of Session, in consequence of the former sentence by the Parliament. But perhaps the reader will not think the case sufficiently explained, unless he has some of the principal arguments in law, which the partys made use of before the Parliament, layed down before him. I shall therefore endeavour, in this place, to satisfy him as to that poynt; and in order to make them the more intelligible, I shall lay aside all the harsh terms of law that commonly embarrass such pleadings.

It was argued for Locheill, the defendent, that he and his predecessors had been for these three hundred years and upwards in possession of the estate in dispute; and that though Macintoish pretends that he has a charter from the Lords of the Isles, confirmed by King David Bruce, yet these charters are now of no force, since neither he, the plaintiffe, nor his predecessors, ever had possession by virtue of them:—2*dly*, That

though the plaintiffe founds a separate tittle upon the decrees of the Court of Session and other Judges in his favours, yet all these decrees are surreptitious, and were stolen out against the defendant when the kingdome was in confusion by Civil Wars and other calamitys, which rendered it unsafe for him to appear and defend; and that, therefore, he had raised action before the Court of Session for having these decrees, and all consequent thereupon, found and declared to be voyd and null, agreeable to ane act of this present Parliament, entituled. ["Act rescinding and annulling the pretended Parliaments in the years 1640, 1641, &c."]:— 3*dly*, That as to the morgage, to which the defendant's father had right from the Laird of Grant, it was onely ane accessory tittle, and can never insinuate any approbation of the plaintiff's claim, in so far as by the deed of conveyance it is expressly declared, that the accepting of that deed should in no manner invalidate or prejudge his other tittles to that estate: —4*thly*, That the defendant's right to the estate was still good and legall even by that deed of morgage, in so far as it was never yet lawfully redeemed, by payment of the mony for which the lands were said to be impignorated. The order of redemption used in the hands of the Provost of Inverness was onely simulated, and elusory; the mony was not actually payed down nor consigned, and though it had, yet since by our law all such consignations are upon the hazard of the consigner, it is certain that the subsequent death and bankruptcy of that Provost must be to the plaintiff's loss, and not to the defendent's, who had no hand in the matter:—5*thly*, That the decree, declareing the estate to be redeemed, is null; att least there is action raised by the defendent for annulling it upon these obvious grounds in law; 1*st*, That he being then a child, neither he nor his tutor were legally summoned to defend, the summonds bearing the citation to have been made att the merkatt-cross of Inverness, and not att his dwelling-house; 2*dly*, That he was not obliged to answer to that Judge, the estate in dispute lyeing and he liveing in a seperate jurisdiction; 3*dly*, As the decree was obtained in absence of the defendant, so it is otherways defective, seeing it does not mention the mony to have been produced att the bar, as it ought to have been, nor that it

was decreed to be payed to the defendent or to his tutor in the manner directed by law.

To these arguments it was answered for Macintoish, That with respect to the 1*st*, the defendent's and his ansestors' long possession was by force and violence, which the law could not justify; that he was willing to putt his case, and risk it upon the authentickness of the charters from the Lord of the Isles and King David, if his Judges thought it proper; but as, att present, he did not found his right to the estate upon these antient writes, so it was intearly out of the question, whither he or his predecessors ever attained to the possession by virtue of them or not:— To the 2*d*, that the defendent was summoned to defend his pretended right according to the rules of law, and that, if he did not appear, it was his own fault: That though the times were then beginning to be troublesome, yet the Rebellion was not actually broke out, and the Judges continued to act in his late Majesty's name and by his authority, so that he had nothing to plead for himself on that score: That however the decrees he pretends to quarrell might be lyable to objections, yet they were still valid and good in law till anulled by the sentence of a Judge competent; and that the action before the Court of Session was meerly elusory, and calculated for no other end but to retard the business in hand; but that all shifts and pretences of that kind were foolish and idle before the High Court of Parliament, which had a legislative authority:—To the 3*d*, that though the defendent might have had some tittle to the estate from his long and violent possession, yet he had effectualy renounced it by accepting of the right of morgage from the Laird of Grant, that being a plain acquescance in the plantiff's tittle of absolute property: That the cautionary clause in Grant's conveyance was useless and impertinent, because the law could never enable him to make over the deed of morgage in any other terms than he had it himself; and though it had been conveyed and transmitted through a hundred different hands, yet no clause or stipulation they could make could prejudge the plantiff, who had them all bound to the observance of the conditions in the originall contract:—To the 4*th* it was answered, that the order of redemption was

executed according to our practice ; and that, if the defendant's tutor was remiss and negligent in receiving his mony from the Provost, in whose hands it was legally consigned, it was his own fault, for the Provost's death and bankruptcy did not happen till after the plantiffe had obtained his decree, declareing the estate to have been lawfully freed and redeemed from the morgage, and had likeways procured another decree before the Lords of Session for removeing the defendent and his Clan from the possession, and executed all the diligence against him required by our law :—And to the *5th*, that whatever defects or even nullitys may be in the decree there mentioned, yet it is still valid and sufficient till rescinded by the authority of a proper judicatory ; and if the case were brought to a second tryall, it would soon appear that all the defects and nullitys under which it is said to labour were but chimerical inventions, without any foundation in truth, or argument in law.

These, and the like, were the arguments used by the partys before the Estates of Parliament. Locheill had imployed the famous Sir George Lockart, a lawer of the greatest abilitys for eloquence and knowledge that ever appeared att the bar. The renouned Sir George M'Kenzie, in the character he gives of this great man, says that he built his arguments like a well-compacted and cemented vault, impenetrable in all its parts ; and that his invention furnished him with more matter than he had words to express ; and that his words flowed thicker upon him than he could easily pronounce. Besides, he was a great master in the art of moveing the passions, and spoke with such a wounderfull vehemence and force of action, that he commanded silence whenever he opened his mouth, and att once charmed and convinced the audience. Had Sir George Lockart's advice been followed in due time, it is probable that Locheill would have carryed his cause ; but he neglecting to reduce and annull the several decrees I have mentioned, Macintoish had plainly the better of him, in point of law ; which undoubtedly had no small influence in the decision.

In the meantime, Locheill, who still continued att Court, was not idle. He very well knew his weakness, and endeavoured to make up that def-

ficiency by the power of interest. By a petition, which the reader will find in the Appendix, he supplicated his Majesty, who gave him a private audience, and who heard the whole matter with great patience, so to interpose his authority as to oblige Macintoish to accept of such a sum of mony as the Councill should judge proper in liew of his pretensions to the estate in question. He further accquainted his Majesty, that as his Clan were, and had been, in the possession for many centurys of years, so he knew that they would never part with their antient dwellings without a great deale of bloodshed; and that since he clearly forsaw the consequence, he had more than reason to apprehend that this would be the last time that he should have the honour of seeing his Majesty. That he had been a great part of his youth a fugitive and outlaw for his attempting to serve his Majesty; but that that gave him no great pain, because he suffered in a glorious cause, and onely shared in the common calamity of his countrey, but that henceforth he must resolve to live among hills and deserts, a fugitive and vagabound, meerly because he was Chiefe of a Clan, for whom, though he was bound by the law, yet he was sure he could not answer when they came to be dispossessed by the antient enemy of his family.

His Majesty, haveing heard all this with his usewall goodness, answered, "Locheill, I know that yow was a faithfull servant to the Crown, and that yow have often, with great bravery, hazarded your life and fortune in that cause; fear not that yow shall be long an outlaw, whatever shall happen in that quarrell, while I have the power of granting a remission: But as to the affair of law and private right, I will not meddle with it, but shall wryte to my Councill to endeavour to compromise matters, so as to prevent publick disturbance. In the mean time, I still think it your interest to hinder Macintoish his attaining to possession; and I assure yow that neither life nor estate shall be in danger while I can save them."

Locheill, much encouraged by this gracious assurance from his Majesty, continued to make his court to the Duke of Albemarle, to whom he related all that had past, and to whom he chiefly recommended it to prevent Macintoish his getting any favour att Court. That Duke frankly

promised to doe him all the services that he possibly could do him; and assured him that he would make his affairs his own.

Locheill had the honour to be well known to the Duke of York, and it was in a great measure to his Royall Highness his intercession that he was beholden for the gracious assurances his Majesty was pleased to give him of a full remission, in case matters came to extremity. He had likeways the goodness to recommend him to the Earl of Clarendon, then Prime Minister of State, and to several other grandees of the Court; whereby Locheill began to think himself pretty secure in all events. But still he found the Earl of Lauderdale ane irreconcileable enemy. That Lord opposed the King's writeing to his Commissioner as long as he could; but the King, haveing positively determined it should be done, the following letter was sent to his Lordship:

"Charles Rex.

"Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousine and Counsellour, wee greit yow well.—We haveing formerly written to our Privy Councill about the difference likely to arise betwixt the Lairds of Macintoish and Locheill, we are still of the same opinion, that though we will not meddle in the point of law or right, which (we are informed) is already determined, yet we have thought fitt to recommend to your care, to endeavour so to settle and agree them as the peace of those parts be not disturbed. Given att Hampton Court, the 30th May 1662, and of our reign the 14th year.

"By His Majesty's command, (Signed) Lauderdaill.

"To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousin and Counseller, the Earl of Middleton, our Commissionour to our Parliament of Scotland."

Locheill arrived att Edinburgh about the same time, and hearing that Macintoish had obtained a diligence, that is, a warrand for seizeing and incarcerating him, he was obliged to supplicate the Councill by pe-

tition for a personal protection, which he could obtain for no longer time than to the 24th of June. Dureing that short time he married the sister of Sir Allan M'Lean of Dowart, a young lady of great beauty and merite, whom he loved most tenderly while she lived. And haveing done what he could to secure his interest with his friends in the Parliament and Privy Councill, he left the town before his protection was expired, and arrived safely with his young lady in Lochaber, where he lived for some years in a most profound peace.

In the meantime, Lauderdale's faction bore such sway in the Privy Councill, that his Majesty's Letter was not read till the 4th of September following. This gave Macintosh ane opportunity to petition the Councill for a Commission of fire and sword against Locheill and his friends; but the Commissioner and Chancellour opposed the reading of his petition with that vigour and firmness, that he could not prevaill for that time. The sum of their arguments were, that the giveing of such a Commission would be plainly to oppose his Majesty's most gracious intentions of reconcileing the partys, as he had signifyed both to his Commissioner and Privy Councill under his Royall hand: That if once Macintosh were armed with authority, he would undoubtedly execute it with vigour; and considdering that the partys were old irreconcileable enemys, of no small power and interest, the Clans would divide into factions in favours of the party they affected, and sett the whole Highlands in a flame: And that, therefore, the Councill ought by all means to endeavour ane amicable adjoustment of affairs, whereby all these evils would be prevented.

But Lauderdale's interest still prevaileing more and more att Court, the Earle of Rothes was named Commissioner for the nixt session of Parliament, in place of the Earl of Middletown; and it mett, accordingly, on the 18th day of January 1663. Macintosh had none now but the Chancellour to oppose him, so that he att length obtained warrand to charge Locheill to appear before the Privy Councill upon 15 days warning, with certification, that, if he failed, their Lordships would issue out Letters of fire and sword against him. But Locheill, who was informed by the Chancellour how matters went, not thinking it proper to

give obedience, the forsaid Commission of fire and sword was upon the 25th . . . . issued out against him and all his abetters, and the Marquess of Montrose, the Earles of Caithness, Murray, Athole, Erroll, Marishall, Mar, Dundee, Airly, Aboyn, and severall other great men, both in the Highlands and Lowlands, are authorized as Commissioners to putt it to execution. Att the same time, Letters of concurrence and intercommuneing, or outlawry, were issued out against him, and the whole name of Cameron; and all the men, between 60 and 16 years of age, within the shires of Inverness, Ross, Nairn, and Perth, are ordered to conveen in arms, and to putt the law in execution against these rebells and outlaws, when Macintoish should think fitt to call them together.

One would now think that when near one half of the kingdome was armed against a private gentleman and his family, that it was scarcely in the power of fortune to save them from utter ruine; especially when that power was to be conducted by ane enemy who was become implacable on account of the losses, affronts, and disappointments that he and his ancestours had received att the hands of the persons whom he was to attack. But we shall see that Providence had ordered matters otherways, and that Locheill and his Clan not onely enjoyed a profound peace for the two following years, but even had the address to bring things about to the issue they desired.

The first thing Macintoish sett about, after his arrivall att his oun house of Dunachton, was to write to all the great men I have mentioned, praying them to be in readdiness to execute the King's commands; and not satisfied with this, he visited them one by one; but after all, he could not so much as prevaile with one of them, receiving this answer in general—That Locheill was a gentleman for whom they had a very great esteem; that they thought it would be hard to dissposess him of an estate that he and his predecessors had so long enjoyed; that he had best accept of a sum of money in liew of his pretentions, since Locheill was willing to give it; and that otherwayes he would find it no easie matter to come to his purpose, and save his honour. Thus dissapointed, he resolved to try his fortune with his oun Clan, and such auxiliarey

forces as he could draw together from his friends and neightbours. But Locheill, who neglected nothing that he deemed proper for his interest, had so artfully mannaged matters with the leading men of the Macintoshes, by secret agents, that their Chief was surprized and confounded to find them so divided in their oppinions, and refractory to his commands, that two-thirds of them refused to follow him. He att first threatned to force them by vertue of the authority wherewith the law had invested him ; but finding rough courses inefectwal, he then attempted to mollify and gain them by fair words and large promises. He was now so harrassed with unreasonable petitions and extravagant demands, that he often said, all the estate he was master of, and the one he was to receive, were both insufficient to satisfie their avarice.

But if the Macintoshes were troublesome and dissobedient, it is no wounder if he found the Clan Vuirich or M'Phersons much more so. This Clan was a branch of the antient Chattans, of whom I have given an account in the Introduction. They so far looked upon themselves as ane independent people, that they brought the matter to a dispute before the Councill in the year 1672, whereof we shall hereafter take occasion to speak fully in the proper place, and had the good fortune to get themselves freed from the yoaks of the Macintoshes, by a sentence of that Court.

While Macintoish was thus employed, Locheill, to make an essay of his mettle, dispatched several small partys into his countrey, with orders to carry off the best of the cattle they could fall upon, from such of the Clan as continued attatched to his interest. These haveing generally succeeded, Macintoish, in revenge of the affront, sent a body of choise men into Lochaber, and commanded them to surprize and seize as many, but especially the leading men of the Camerons, as possibly they could. His view was to force Locheill into a compliance with his demands, by detaining them prissoners, and threatning their lives. But his party having lurked long in the mountains to no purpose, returned home with the poor satisfaction of killing two cowherds, whom they accidentely mett, while they were looking after their cattle in these parts. This project

failing, he resolved to reconcile himself with his Clan and friends att any price ; and, in the end, effected it, by complying even with their most exorbitant demands.

Locheill, who forsaw the event, and was fully informed of what passed, fell upon another way to obstruct his designs. He had, by this time, so far insinuated himself into the favour of many of the leading Lords of the Parliament and Privy Councill, that he, in January 1665, procured an order subscribed by the Duke of Rothes, then Commissioner to the Parliament, commanding Macintoish to attend them att Edinburgh within the short time therein prefixt ; and dischargeing him to putt his commission of fire and sword in execution till the pleasure of the Councill was further made known. Macintoish, who obeyed with great reluctance, compleaned bitterly of his useage att his arival, but had no other answer but a positive command to attend there till Locheill, whom the Councill had just then sent for, should have time to come up.

The partys were, upon the day appointed, conveened before the Commissioner, Chancellour, Officers of State, and all the other great men then in authority, in a full Councill, where his Majestie's letter being read in their hearing, the Chancellour accquanted them with the reasons of their being called for, and said : That his Majesty's royall zeall for the wellfair and happiness of his people, and the particular commands which he had been graciously pleased to lay upon his Parliament and Councill, to endeavour a reconcealment between the partys by way of compromise, so as the publick peace and tranquility which they happily enjoyed under his auspicious government might not be disturbed, could not miss to have a due influence on persons so well affected to their Sovereign, and dispose them to agree to such measures, as should seem agreeable to justice and the wisdome of his Majesty's Councill. And the Chancelour, haveing asked them if they were willing to submitt the controversie betwixt them to the arbitration of the Councill, they answered in the affirmative, and were dismissed for that time.

Two days thereafter the Councill called the partys again before them, and the Chancelour resuming the discourse, accquanted them that they had now fully informed themselves of the value of the estate in question,

and of all the particulars of the dispute: That the Councill, haveing seriously deliberated on the affair, were of oppinion, that, seeing Locheill and his predecessors had enjoyed these lands for so long a time, and that they were possessed by his Clan, that they lay contiguous to the rest of his estate, and were att the distance of so many miles from that of Macintoish's, the partys should agree upon a certain equitable pryce; wherein regaird ought to be had, as well to the yearly rents of the estate, as to the other considerations before noticed; for whatever Macintosh's original right to these lands might be, it was not so good but that it afforded grounds for a long and a heriditary quarrell between the familys, which had occasioned much disturbance and a great issue of blood. That though Macintosh had gott the better in point of law, yet, for any thing that appeared, it proceeded rather from the advantages that were taken either from the unhappy circumstances that Locheil's family were often by missfortune involved in, or from the publick confusions of the State, than from any preferrance of naturall right or tittle that had yet been heard of: That Locheil's continued possession seems to have given him the priority on that score; and that, in as far as he could judge of the affair, he was sincearly of oppinion, that whatever the Chief might doe, in obedience to his Majesty's laws, yet his Clan would never allow any but themselves to inhabite these lands in peace: And that, therefore, he thought it for the publick good that things should be adjusted on the plan he had proposed.—Macintoish heard this speech with great indignation; but he could not make a better of the case, as it then stood; he saw that the Councill had come in unanimously to that scheme, and that non pretended to contradict or oppose it. The Chancelour, haveing finished, recomended it to the partys, in very pressing terms, to endeavour, by the mediation of their friends, to fix upon a price; and if they could not agree, the Councill would doe their best to adjust the differance.

The partys, with great numbers of friends and lawers on both sides, mett very often; but were still so wide of one another, that there did not appear the least probability of any agreement at that time. Within eight dayes thereafter they were for a third time called before the Coun-

cill ; and the Chancelour, haveing informed himself of what passed att these meetings, and of what Locheill would willingly give as the last offer, proposed the sum of 72,000 merks to be payed to Macintoish for his clame upon that estate ; and this sum, he said, he tooke to be a just medium between the demands of the one, and the offers of the other. The Councill were of the same oppinion, and severall of the members spoke in favours of it, adding some new proposalls of their own, by way of amendment ; but Macintoish was so far from consenting, that he could not even hear what was said with patience.

Being att length dismissed, he resolved to steall privately out of the town ; but haveing got all things ready with the greatest secrecy, he had the mortification, just when he was setting out, to be arreasted by an order from the Councill, till he found caution that he, his Clan, and followers, should keep the publick peace. This he interpreted as ane indirect command to give over doeing himself justice by force of arms. He knew well from whom this blow had come ; and, therefore, att once to elude the order, and trick his adversary, he disembled his intentions, and voluntarly offered to delay the execution of his commission against Locheill for a year longer, on condition that the Councill would dispence with his finding caution for any others but his oun tenants. Locheill agreed to the proposeall, and the Councill dismissed him. But he was soon sensible of his error in takeing his adversary's simple word for the performance. For no sooner had Macintoish reached home, than he inveited all the leaders of his Clan, with their friends and followers, to ane entertainment, except the M'Phersons ; where, by ane obsequious condescendance to all their demands, he prevailed with them to subscrive a bond obligeing themselves to follow him to Lochaber when required.

But the most difficult task yet remained ; for the M'Phersons still stood out, and without them he could doe nothing of moment. Cluny, their Chief, was a person of honour and courage, and had several times brought a body of 500 men to the field, where non behaved more gallantly in the service of their King and countrey. As he resolved never to accknowledge any dependance on Macintoish, so he had no inclination to the service he demanded of him ; so that it stood Macintoish the four

following months before he could bring him to his terms, which were a renounciation of any tittle or pretence he had to the Chiefship, and a premium of L.100 sterling for his service in that expeadition.

Locheill, in the meantime, was not ignorant of what past; and in order to perplex his antagonist a little more, he wrote to his friend the Earl of Murray, Sherriff-principall of Inverness-shyre, to hold his Circuit Courts in Badenoch, Strathspey, and other places where the Macintoishes, Macphersons, and their followers, lived, and to order such of them as were his vassalls to attend; by which they would be then effectwally hindered from joyning Macintoish. This stratagem was immediatly putt in execution, nor could Macintoish, at any rate, prevaill with the Earl to dissmiss his men till he had made his tower throw all the different parts of his jurisdiction; which he performed at great leisure, and then marched towards Inverness, to adjust a differance between the Lord Macdonald's men and that toun; which haveing performed, he, on the 27th August 1665, wrote to Macintoish to come to him, and hear certain new proposealls which he had to offer in behalf of Locheill.

Macintoish, after some difficulty, consented; and sett out at the head of 800 men, appointing Cluny and the Macphersons to meet and joyn him at the distance of a day's journey from Lochaber. Having triffled away some time with the Earl of Murray, and being joyned by all his auxiliareys, consisting of Shaws, Ferquarsons, and some others his antient friends and allyes, he began his march for Lochaber with a body of 1500 good men; and passing through the wood called Glasrey, he encamped on the plain of Cluins on the West side of the river of Airkike.

Locheill, having heard that Macintoish was on his march, thought it was full time to provide for his defence; and in a few dayes got together his whole Clan, who, haveing been prepared beforehand, and willing for the service, were sooner with him than he expected. He was likeways joyned by a small party of the M'Ians of Glencoe, and another of M'Grigors, who offered their services as volunteers, and found upon the muster that he had gott 900 armed with guns, broad-swords, and targes, and 300 more who had bows in place of guns; and it is remarkable, that these were the last considerable companey of bowmen that appeared in

the Highlands. With these he marched streight to Achnacary, and encamped on the bank of the river of Arkike, immediatly opposite to Macintoish.

This river is fordeable only att one place, on each side of which the partys were incamped ; and taking its rise from a great fresh-water Lake or Loch, which streatches itself twelve miles further Westward, after a short course of one mile through a beautifull plain, disimbogues itself into another large Loch lyeing South and North, of ane equall length with the former. This last Loch, which bears the name of Loch Lochy, extends itself about three miles Southwards from the mouth of Arkike ; and from the end or mouth of this Loch issues the great river of Lochy, which, after a very rapid course of about eight miles further South, looses itself in that arm of the sea on which the Fort of Inverlochy is scituated. So strong and rapid is the current, at the mouth of this river, that it dartes its streams, and rushes with such force and violence into the sea, that it preserves itself intear for a considerable way, and retains its former freshness, as if it were unwilling to lose itself. The whole length of this Loch and river of Lochy from South to North is upwards of twenty long miles; and that of the Loch and river of Airkike from East to West is thirteen miles of Scots measure. So that it was impossible for the partys, as they were scituated, to come suddenly to blows.

Locheill, being master of the countrey, had it manifastly in his power, either soon to oblige his adversary to abandon his enterprize for the want of provisions, or otherways to fatigue his men by a long and difficult march of twenty-four miles, through narrow, brocken, and stoney roads, by the head of Loch Arkike ; the other way by Loch Lochy being still much longer, and shutt up at the end by the sea, unless they attempted the fords of the river of Lochey ; which would have been a dangerous interprize.

Macintoish was sensible enough of his bad scituation, and two days after his arivall, removed his camp to a little village two miles Westward, on the side of Loch Arkick ; and Locheill, after throwing up a trench att the ford of Arkike, which he left fifty men to guard, keept pace with him, and encamped on the opposite side. Here haveing called a

councill of war, he informed his friends of his resolution of determining the quarell by a decisive action, to which he was encouraged by his Majesty's most gracious assurance of a remission : He added, that as he had full confidence in the courage of his men from former tryalls, so he had no apprehension of the event, notwithstanding of the enemy's odds of number : That all the promiseing appearances were on their side ; they were masters of the country, all of one name and family, except a few brave volunteers, and interrested in the affair almost equally with himself : That, on the other hand, he knew he had a very brave enemy to engage ; but then, they did not think themselves much concerned in the quarrell, and non of them, excepting the Macphersons, had ever seen blood : That all but the Macintoshes, who did not exceid six or seven hundred at most, were strangers and auxiliareys, and allured into the service, rather by interest and hyre than by their own inclinations : That even the Macintoshes themselves had expressed no great readieness to serve, and it was well known that many of them had so little regard to their Chief's honour and interest, that they took the advantage of his necessity, and forced him to divide a good part of his estate among them before they would comply : That, however, as he was fully determined to fight, so he hoped non of them would pretend to oppose him, unless they could bring some convinceing reasons for a contrary course : That if any of them wanted inclination to engage, and had not putt on a fixt resolution to die or conquer, he begged of them to retire, and he would afford them such opportunitys as would save their honour.—The Camerons expressed some kind of ane uneasiness and concern att the last part of this speech, that their Chief should so much as suspect that any of them would desert him when his honour and interest, joyned with that of the whole name, was att stake : They unanimously approved his resolution, and desired him to lead them on, and they would convince him that they were no worse men than they formerly were against the publick enemys of the kingdome. Hereupon they agreed upon the measures they were to take, and resolved in part to putt them in execution that very night.

In the mean time, the Earl of Breadalbane, who was cousine-german to both the Chiefs, and a person of ane extensive genius and vast capa-

city, haveing resolved to interpose in the quarrell, marched into Lochaber att the head of three hundred men, and offered himself as a mediator. He was well acquanted with the tempers, capacitys, interests, and views of the partys, and knew how to make the proper use of it; but whither he applyed first to Locheill or Macintoish, is what I am not sufficiently assured of to affirm, but certain it is, that Locheill, in consequence of his former resolution, detatched Allan Cameron of Errocht with a strong body of choise men to surprize and attack the enemy on the very night that Breadalbane arrived.

Errocht's orders were to ferry over his men in some boats provided for the purpose, to a little island in Locherkike, almost within a muskett shot of that side of the Loch on which Macintoish was posted; and some hours before breck of day to waft his men over to a certain place, fitt for concealing them, till he could make his proper disposition for attacking the enemy; but if he found them upon their guard, his orders were to retire privatly, and to post himself on a certain strong ground which was pointed out to him, and where, in the worst event, he could defend himself, till Locheill, who was to decamp that night, and to march round by the head of the Loch, which was a journey of sixteen or seventeen miles, could arive with the main body to his reliefe.

This detatchment was ferryed over to the island in the manner concerted, and Locheill was just entering upon his march, when the Earl of Breadalbane, who had been for some hours preceeding with Macintoish, arrived, and brought back Errocht, whom he mett in the Isle, along with him. Locheill, though much fretted at the disconcerting his measures, was still resolved to fight the enemy the very nixt day, and to continue his march; but Breadalbane told him roundly, that he was equally allyed to them both; that he came there to act the part of a mediator, and whoever of them proved refractorey, he would not onely joyn with the other against him, but also would bring all the power that Argile was master of with his own into the quarrell: And he thereupon showed a Commission he had from the Earl of Argile to that purpoise.

Locheill found himself under the necessity of consenting; and his

firm resolution of fighting had this good effect, that it hastened on the agreement, and in a manner compelled Macintoish, who was pusht on by his people, to consent to those very proposealls that had been formerly made by the Privy Councill, and afterwards by the Earl of Murray, whereof I have already given ane account.

This agreement was concluded on the 20th of September 1665, about three hundred and sixty years after the commencement of the quarrell; which was perhaps of the longest duration of any mentioned in history, and considdering the strength of the partys, as bloody as any that has been heard of. Though Macintoish gained nothing, yet Locheill and his predecessors were exceeding great loosers by it, for they were so intent and keen in defending their possession of that estate, that they either gave away or abandoned their originall inheritance, which was four times above this in value, as their original Charters from the Lords of the Isles, all confirmed by King James IV., with the Charters granted by succeeding Princes, erecting the whole into a free Barroney, with many large powers and priviledges, testify to this day; and all this besides the loss of the pension of three hundred pounds sterling per annum, that I have mentioned, and of Swinart and Ardnamurchan, which now belonged to the Earl of Argile, with the rest of his father's forfeiture, by a gift from the Crown, in the manner I shall soone have occasion to relate.

However, as matters were now scituated, the present transaction with Macintoish was as good as Locheill could reasonably have expected it; for, besides the yearly rents of the lands, which far exceeded the interest of the pryce he payed for them, he had fine old woods of oak and firr on both sides of Loch Erkike, and on other parts of that estate, worth four times the value of that sum. But still there was a materiall ommission in this bargain, which afterwards, in the year 1688, coast Locheill both trouble and expences; for he, haveing, from the redeeming of the morgage in March 1639, possessed the estate without paying any rent, to the time of this agreement, he was accountable to Macintoish for all the years of that intervall, which, ammounting to a considerable sum, ought to have been expressly comprehended in the treaty. Be

this as it will, the present differances being thus adjusted, the two Chiefs had a friendly conference the nixt day, and exchainged swords, in testimoney of a sincere reconciliation, under mutwall promises of ane inviolable friendship for the future. The leading gentlemen of the two Clans used the same form of ceremoney, and Locheill, haveing entertained them all for some days in his house in the best manner he could, dissmissed them, in appearance, very well satisfied.

The spring following, he mett Macintosh att Edinburgh, where the treaty was ratified in presence of the Earls of Argile and Breadalbane ; and the first moyety of the sum agreed upon payed. Argyle advanced the money without any obligation of interest, on condition, that Locheill would consent to hold these lands of his Lordship, for the yearly payment of one hundred pounds Scots of few-duty, and for the service of 100 men in arms when required. These conditions Locheill with great unwillingness submitted to ; but the necessity of finding money to pay Macintosh was too urgent to be long disputed. It is true the Marquess of Atholl offered him money, but still upon harder conditions ; and Locheill refuseing his overture, occasioned some small resentment on Athol's side, as we will see hereafter ; but without any just ground, seeing the obligations he lay under to Argyl's father and himself were sufficient motives to determine him, though the terms had been equall. The service of the men the late Earl of Argile dispenced with, by a writt under his hand ; and he had likewayes gott rid of the vassalage, by the favour of King James VII., if the intrigues of the then Duke of Gordon had not prevented it. By this bargain with Argile, Locheill was soone thereafter brought under many difficultys and troubles, with relation to his friends, the M'Leans. The missfortunes of this antient and honourable family have too near a relation to my subject to be passed over in silence : But we must look back some years, in order to trace them from their original.

The Marquess of Argile haveing procured from the Lords of the Treasourey a grant of the tyths of Argyleshyre, with a Commission to collect several arrears of the few-duty, cesses, taxations, and supply, and some new impositions laid on the subject by the rebellious Parliament, under

the names of ammunition, and contribution-money, and the like, did take out a decree against Sir Lachlane M'Lean of Dowart, Chief of the M'Leans, for his quota of these arrears, and for some small sums wherein the Marquess was cautioner or suerty for him; and haveing, after the ordinary course of legall diligence, made himself master of his person, forced him, in the year 1642, to grant bond for L.14,000 Scots, and to subscrive a doqueted accompt for L.16,000 more, bearing interest. The M'Leans alleadge, that, between the years 1652 and 1659, they payed L.22,000 of that debt, partly to the Marquess himself, and partly to the Lady Anne his daughter, who had ane assignement to it from her father, besides L.10,000 which Sir Hector, who succeeded Sir Lachlane, had payed to himself in 1651. But this seems improbable; for non but fools would have delivered such sums without receipts or acquittances. All the executions that followed on the bonds would have been by our law reduced, that is, annulled, upon application to the proper judge, if such had been exhibited before him; and it is not presumable that the Marquess would have, in good policy, proceeded to ultimate dilligence, while he knew that such strong evidences were extant against him, that would in time make void the whole. Besides, the scituation of M'Lean's affairs, during the course of the Rebellion, fortifyes this presumption; for, being deeply engadged in the service of the Crown in all the attempts that were made by the Royalists, while the Usurpation lasted, they suffered such losses by the depredations of the enemy, by the expences of supporting their people, by the totall neglect of their affairs att home while they were engaged abroad, and by many other unavoidable callamitys of a furious Civill War of so long a continuance, that it seems enough if they subsisted themselves, though they had not been pressed by any such debts.

But, however the case may be, it is certain that the Marquess tooke no notice of these payments, and that, in the year 1659, he obtained a decree, adjudgeing and decreeing the property of M'Lean's whole estate to belong to him and his heirs, for payment of the accumulate sum of L.85,000 Scots; nor was there any abatement or deduction allowed for the L.32,000, said to have been payed as above.

The Marquess being forfeited in May 1661, M'Lean and his tutor did, in consequence of his Majesty's orders to his Parliament to redress all such as had been injured or oppressed by the Marquess, dureing the Rebellion, out of his forfeiture, applyed to the Parliament, and proved the extent of their losses to have far exceeded the sum for which the forsaid decree was obtained; but the process was stopt, upon I know not what pretence, by his Majesty's Advocat-general, before the sentance or decree was pronounced.

M'Lean's view of compensating the debt in the adjudication being dissapointed, my Lord Lauderdale procured a gift of the forfeiture from his Majesty to the Earl of Argile and his creditors, to be applyed in the following manner:—1*st*, L.15,000 of free yearly rent was granted to the Earl himself: 2*dly*, Allowance was made for payment of morgages or proper wadsetts: 3*dly*, For such debts as were owing by the Earl himself, or for which he was bound joyntly with his father: 4*thly*, For my Lady Marchioness her provisions, by her marriage-settlements, and for the portions of the younger children of the family: And the remainder of the estate was appoynted to be equally divided among the late Marquess his creditors.

Agreeably to this scheme, there was a commission directed to the Earl of Seaforth and some others for examining into the rentall or yearly revennes of the estate, and making the settlement accordingly: And by the report, there remained nothing for paying these creditors but this debt of M'Lean's, which is there stated to ammount, att Martimas 1665, to the sume of L.121,000 Scots, including interest and charges; and another sume of L.20,000 owing to that family by the Captain of Clanranald; which two sumes, the Commissioners haveing decreed to belong to the creditors, the Earl declaired himself willing to devest himself of any right that he had to them, which, indeed, was none, since they fell to the Crown by the forfeiture, and were not returned to the heir of the family by the gitt. And here it is to be remarked, that M'Lean had a fair opportunity offered him of getting out of Argyl's hands, by a transaction with the creditors, who never received one sixpence of the sums owing them by the Marquess. This unaccountable negligence of

M'Lean and his managers gave the Earl of Argyle a handle for seizing their opulent fortune ; for, without taking notice of the creditors, who likewayes neglected their concerns, he infeft himself upon the fore mentioned adjudication, and having executed the ordinary course of legall dilligence, he procured letters of fire and sword against them, for getting into the possession by force.

It was unlucky for the family of M'Lean that the Chief was then a child, and his tutor a person who seems to have been absolutely unfitt for mannageing his affairs att such a juncture ; for, instead of settling matters by a composition, or attempting to redress them by law, which he had ane easey opportunity of doeing, either by making a handle of the Marquess his creditors, or by examening into Argyle's originall tittle, which the law would have annulled upon production of the accquittances and receipts before mentioned, if any such were ; I say, instead of settleing matters by one or other of these methods, he vainly squandered away his pupill's money, and ruined the poor people by keeping them in arms, and hyring the neightbouring Clans to march in considerable bodys into the Isle of Mull to defend it from the invasion threatned by the Earl of Argyle.

Had Locheill been acted by principles of interest, he would undoubtedly have continued newterall, and though Argyle prevailed upon him to come some dayes to Inverarey, yet all the offers he made him were inneffectwall to make him desert his friends. He was, it is true, very much at the Earl's mercy, as his vassall in a good part of his estate, and his debitor in a great sum of money. His Lordship demanded payment of the debt, and the men he was obliged to send him, threatning, if he did not comply, to execute the law against him with the outmost rigour : He answered, that he had not the money, nor would he imploy his men against his friends. And so parting, without taking leave, he hastned to Lochaber, where, joyning the Lord M'Donald of Glengary, the Lairds of Keppoch, Glencoe, and others, they marched into Mull, and prevented Argyl's invasion for that year.

This riseing in arms without legall authority, is no less a cryme than rebellion in the construction of law. His Lordship compleaned to the

Councill, and in order to prevent such opposition for the future, he prevailed with them to issue out a long proclamation upon the 29th July 1669, whereby all former acts with respect to the Highland Chieftains are enumerated and ratified, and those who were complained on as most turbulent are ordered to find annuall caution for keeping the peace ; and among these were his Lordship of Argyle, the Lairds of Locheill, M'Lean, and others. The Earl allowed himself to be comprehended in the proclamation out of policy. None could oppose a proclamation so seemingly impartiall, and as, on that account, it passed without contra diction, so it could have no effect against him, seeing he was authorized by law in what he intended to act against the M'Leans.

But Locheill was under some difficulty before he could extricate himself out of this snare. He was then under caption, that is, a warrand was out for seizeing his person for the debt he owed Argyle, which made it dangerous for him to adventure on a journey to Edinburgh, as being pretty certain that the Earl would doe all he could to gett him into his clutches : But still he thought it more dangerous not to obey the orders of the Councill ; and, therefore, in October, he stole privatly into Edinburgh, and upon the 28th of that month obtained a personall protection from the Councill, in spite of what Argyle, who was himself a Councelor, could doe in opposition.

But still his difficulty did not end here ; for, being fully determined not to abandon the M'Leans till matters were some way adjusted between them and the Earl, he forsaw that he would be obliged to continue in arms, whereby his cautioners, who by law behooved to be persons resideing in the Low-countrey, would be made lyable to the penalty. To elude this difficulty, he applyed to the Councill by petition, praying their Lordships, that, in respect that he had used his outmost endeavours with his friends in the Low-country to become cautioners for him, and that they had all refused, their Lordships would be pleased to accept of Highland caution. Argyle, who saw into the design, opposed it strenuously ; but Locheil's interest prevailed, and the petition was granted.

Though he continued att Edinburgh for the greatest part of the winter, and received several invitations from Argile to an interview, yet he

positively refused to see him ; and was so much offended att his crewelty to the M'Leans, and the affront he putt upon him by the caption I just now mentioned, that he drew a pistoll to shoot him as he was stepping into his coach, in order to attend the Councill ; but was luckily hindered by his servant, who being at his back, suddenly wrested the pistoll out of his hands.

Early in the spring following he made a second expeadition into Mull, where he stayed all the summar, and continued to doe so for the three or four next succeeding years ; his Lordship not haveing adventured to doe any thing by way of force all that while.

In the spring of the year 1674 he was taken ill of a dangerous bloody-flux, which he had drawn upon himself by the cold and other inconvenienceys he had suffered in serving his friends the M'Leans. His illness continueing for the whole year following, he became so extenuated that his physitians at last dispared of his life. While he was able to speak or write, he never failled to assist the tutor of M'Lean with his best advice ; but his distemper increaseing, the tutor, who was a credulous good-natured man, was easily imposed upon by the subtility of my Lord M'Donald, who, out of meer emulation, bore him no good will, and cunningly insinuated to the tutor that he was too much in friendship with the Earl of Argile, to be sincere in his affection to the M'Leans : In short, he gave such a malitious turn to all his actions, and so mannaged the easey temper of the innocent well-meaning man, that he brought matters in the end to ane absolute rupture. Locheil's advice was slighted, the men whom he had in that service neglected, and a small pension which was assigned him in payment of his lady's portion out of M'Lean's estate was stopt. While Locheil's advice was followed, the M'Leans continued simply on the defensive, without injuring any person, but now when the conduct was committed to his Lordship, as if he wanted to provock the Earl of Argyle, and to draw the hatered of their neightbours upon the people whom he served, he advised them to invade the Earl's country, where they did nothing but plunder a few innocent persons who had never injured them. Being in the end wearyed of that countrey, and inclineing to return to his oun, as haveing done enough for

that year's pension, (for he had a considerable one payed him yearly out of M'Lean's estate,) he contrived matters so that a few wild horses making a great noise in the night, as they run precipitantly by the place where they lay encampt, they were surprized with such a pannick that they betooke themselves to their heels, and immediatly dispersed.

In the mean time, the Earl of Argile took a new and more effectwal method to attain to his designs. Being Hereditary Justiciarcy of the Isles, he issued out summondses against all the gentlemen of the name of M'Lean, and against as many of the commons as he could find names for, to appear before his Justice Court for treasonable convocation in arms, making leagues, subscriving bonds for that end, and garrissoning houses and castles, &c., to stand their tryalls, and to find landed gentlemen cautioners for them within six days after they were charged.

The unfortunate M'Leans, knowing that his Lordship, their mortall enemy, was to be both Judge and party, did not obey; whereupon they were immediatly declared rebells to his Majesty, outlawed, and had a new commission of fire and sword issued out against them. They were watched with the greatest strickness, in order to cutt off all intercourse between them and the Lords of the Councill, who onely could redress them. Such of them as fell into the enemy's hands were very ill-used, and threatned with death; and the whole name, cooped up within their Isleand, were almost starved to death for want of provisions, which their auxiliareys had wholly eaten up.

The Earl, sufficiently apprysed of their misery, invaded the Isle with a good body of men, and found no opposition; but the house of Dowart, a strong old Castle, being garrisoned, he published ane indemnity which he had obtained on purpose, remitting all crimes committed by them preceeding the 18th of September 1674, on condition that they gave him immediat possession of M'Lean's estate, and delivered up the castle; with both which their miserable scituation obliged them to comply. Argile, having thus gott possession, endeavoured to prevaill with M'Lean's vassalls to renounce their interest in that family, and to accept of new Charters from him, which they obstinately refused to doe; and forseeing that their troubles were not yet over, they again betook themselves to

arms, and called in my Lord Macdonald and others to their assistance, and so much were they irritated against their new master and the Campbells, that his Lordship of Macdonald easily prevailed with them to make the invasion upon Argile I have mentioned. This procedure gave the Earl a new handle for prosecuting them and their abbetters before his own Justice Court, whereby they were again reduced to their former miserys, wherein they continued till the year 1676, that the Councill commanded them to disperse, and brought the matter to a tryall before themselves.

Locheill, in the mean time, recovering from his long indisposition, (which, by the by, was the onely malady he was ever troubled with in his life,) my Lord Argile tooke advantage of his resentment against his Lordship of Macdonald and the Macleans, and sent some of his friends under the pretence of a visite to propose a reconciliation. The gentlemen employed in this affair, being of Locheil's near relation, were so powerfully seconded by the Camerons, that in the end they obtained his consent to ane interview, to which he was inveited by a most obligeing letter from the Earle.

Before this time, there had been a secrete correspondence carryed on between some of the leading men of the Camerons and the Earle, whereof Locheill knew nothing till his recovery. These friends daily represented to him, that no less than the safety of his Clan and family depended upon this agreement; that the sum of money he owed to Argile was more than double the extent of that wherein the Macleans were originally indebted; that he was his vassall in a great part of his estate; and that it was odds but he would be brought to the same misery, if he did not wisely prevent it; that he had been now ane outlaw, on their account, for five years successively, his honour was suspected, and his services slighted; but supposeing matters otherwayes, what could he doe for them? Argile was now in possession; he had power sufficient to preserve it; and was seconded in it by the laws of his country; that if he resolved to serve them effectually, he must doe it by his friendship and interest with Argile as a mediator, for it was impossible he could effectuat any thing as ane enemy.

Locheill sett out in the beginning of June 1675 for the Castle of Dunstaffnage, where his Lordship already waited him. This is probably one of the oldest buildings extant in the Kingdome, and was, in antient times, one of the seats of our first Kings before the destruction of the Picts. Att Appine Locheill was mett by some of the principall gentlemen of the name of Campbell, who were ordered by his Lordship to attend him during that short voyage, a journey by land haveing been thought too fatigueing in the state he was in. He was very well received by Argile, who, after the first compliments were over, asked him how he came to conceive such a mortall enmity against a person who had been so much his friend? Locheill answered, that he never had any personal hatred against his Lordship, though he had to his designs. Argile replyed, that he hoped he was now fully sensible that he had chosen the wrong side by the returns of gratitude made him for so many years' service. "I proposed nothing, my Lord," said Locheill, "but to save my oppressed friends from absolute ruine. I expected no reward, and I knew they could give me non; but now, since they seem to slight the small services I could doe them, I think myself obliged to meddle no more in their affairs till they come under other managers." His Lordship said, in answer to this, that he had never proposed to ruine them, but their own folly would soon doe it without him; that he had oftener than once offered them very easy terms, which they had hitherto vainly rejected, out of a fancy that they could defend themselves by the sword; that after his Lordship had adjusted matters with the late Sir Allan, and agreed to restrict his whole claim to the estate of Morvine, which did not amount to one half of the value of the sum he owed him, he, the said Sir Allan, followed the advice of three or four interested people of his name, and threw up the bargain; that, as he thought both his honour and interest at stake, he was determined to bring the affair to a conclusion, whatever trouble it coast him; that, even after all that, if he had reasonable people to dale with, he would be still willing to enter into a transaction, and accept of any part of M'Lean's estate of near a suitable value, in place of all he could charge him with.

Locheill readily answered, that if his Lordship would be pleased to

assure him, upon his word of honour, that he had no other view but to oblige the M'Leans to enter into such terms as should seem reasonable to the friends on both sides, he would make no scruple to attend him into Mull, when he pleased; but that his Lordship was not to expect he would ever act the part of ane enemy in that service; for, however the tutor had used him, his innocent young cousine M'Lean had never done him any injury, and that, even though he inclined to act against him, his men would not follow him. Argile subjoyned, that he wanted no more but his countenance in the matter, to show them that they had not him to trust to in support of their foolish measures; that he valued not my Lord Macdonald nor his adherents, and that Locheill might rest himself assured that he would be as willing as the M'Leans or their friends could wish him to conclude the affair by a reasonable transaction. After several conferences to this purpose, his Lordship entered into a contract with Locheill, whereby the latter obliged himself to waite upon his Lordship in person into the Isle of Mull, attended with fifty men, for which his Lordship became engaged to submitt all claims and demands on both sides to certain friends after performance. This contract bears date 5th June 1675.

Affairs being thus adjusted, his Lordship inveited Locheill to pass a few days with him att Inverarey, where there happned ane adventure, which, though of no consequence in itself, will probably divert the reader. Locheill, haveing accepted the invitation, had, it seems, for some days, neglected to get himself sheaved, which the Earl observing, offered him the service of a French valet de chambre, whom he affirmed to be very adroit in the mannagement of his razer; and there being no company then present, prevailed with his guest to sett aside ceremoney, and to allow himself to be sheaved in the room where they were. There chanceing to be two Highland fellows of the name of Cameron, and of their Chief's retinue, in waiting att the door, the Earl, who was then walking through the room, observed that they stood closs together, and pressed hard upon the door with their backs. When the valet had performed his work, his Lordship asked Locheill by way of jest, if it was his custome to keep a guard-de-corps about him while he was a sheaving? The

other, asking the reason of so odd a question, "I have," replyed his Lordship, "observed a very misterious conduct in these two fellows of yours all the while the valet was a sheaving you. They stood, in a menacing posture, pressing hard upon the door, as if they had designed to hinder others to enter the room. One of them had his eyes closs fixt upon me, and the other on the valete ; and I am convinced there must be something of meaning in so strange a behaviour." "Be so good, my Lord," answered Locheill, "as to inquire their meaning att themselves; for, I assure your Lordship, they had no orders from me, nor did I so much as know of their being there." The Earl having questioned them on the matter, one of them answered, with a brisk assurance, that they, knowing well that there had been a differance between his Lordship and their Chief on account of the assistance he had given the M'Leans, they began to suspect, when the valet was called for, that there might be a designe of murdering their Chief under the cover of that service, seeing he had a servant of his own who used to performe it; and that, therefore, they were determined, if their suspition proved true, first to dispatch his Lordship, and then the valet. "But," said his Lordship, "what doe ye imagine would have become of yourselves, if yow had done such a thing?" "That we did not think upon," answered the other briskly, "but we were resolved to revenge the murder of our Chief!" The Earl praised their zeal for their Chief's safety, gave each of them money, and so dismissed them ; telling Locheill that he believed there was no Prince in the world that had so loving and faithfull subjects.

Locheill, being returned to Lochaber, acquanted his lady with all that passed between Argile and him ; and assured her, that though he had engaged himself to waite on him in person, yet all his Clan were att her service. This lovely lady was then big of her third son, Allan, (of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter,) and dyed sone after her delivery.

By several of Argile's letters to Locheill, it appears that his Lordship was not well satisfied with his performance of the articles in the contract. In one of these, directed to the Lady Dowager of Locheill, he compleans bitterly of her son's ingratitude in not giveing him the concurrence he

had promised ; and to convince her of the treuth of what he asserted, he sent her inclosed a copy of that contract. It would seem that Locheill suspected the sincerity of his Lordship's assurances, that he was willing to settle the affair by ane easy composition ; but if that was the case, Locheill was in the misstake, for his Lordship haveing, without any resistance, obtained absolute possession of M'Lean's whole estate, came soon thereafter to ane agreement, and confined all his pretentions to the Isleand of Tyree, which was att that time worth about L.300 sterling of yearly rent ; but under condition, that if he was disturbed by M'Lean or his successors in the enjoyment, his tittle to the whole estate should revive, and that bargain become void.

Locheill waited upon his Lordship into Mull, attended by 50 men, as he had engaged ; and, indeed, the Earl was as generous to him as he had promised ;* for he gave him a full acquittance for L.20,000 of the sum wherein he was indebted to his Lordship, and the discharge bears date the 26th October 1678, which seems to have been the year wherein the differance between that Lord and the M'Leans was finally concluded.

One Macintoish of Connage gave some small interruption to the peace and quiete that Locheill and his people enjoyed for some years. This person haveing officiously obtained commission to uplift some old arrears of cess and other publick impositions due by that neightbourhood, marched into Lochaber att the head of a good body of such people as he could engage to attend him ; but hearing that Locheill, Keppoch, and others, were resolved not to allow him to harrasse the country people, he sent a small party before him to see if the coast was clear, but these being mett and dissarmed in a wood, he returned, and compleaned to the Councill. This, however, coast Locheill a journey to Edinburgh, where the crime mostly urged against him was his haveing such a number of men in arms, as the plantiff offered to prove he had att that time ; but Locheill easily extricated himself, by alleageing, that he had conveened these men in order to bring a certain person to justice who had lately murdered a man in that neightbourhood.

Sometime thereafter, a party of souldiers, who had marched into that

* "*N.B.*—This is ane error."

countrey upon the same errand, chanceing to kill a woman while she was hindering them to seize her cattle, a few men of that village gott together, killed two of the souldiers, and chassed the rest out of Lochaber. Locheill, who happened to be then with the Laird of Struan, Chief of the Robertsons in Rannoch, being soon thereafter summoned to appear before his Majesty's Privy Councill to answer for his men, was obliged to return to Edinburgh, where he had the good fortune to find his Royall Highness the Duke of York. That Prince soon gave Locheill a publick testimoney of his favour and esteem, for he not only received him with marks of distinction, but also, in a full court, honoured him with his conversation, and putt many pleasant questions to him concerning the adventures of his youth. He likewayes complimented him upon his conduct in his affairs with Macintoish, and said, that he was well pleased to hear that he had brought it to such a happy issue; and that though the King his brother had bought that estate for him, since it was so long in the possession of his family, and so conveniently scituated for his Clan, it would have been but a small reward for his services! In the end, he demanded his sword, which Locheill haveing delivered, the Duke attempted to draw it; but it would not doe, for the sword, it seems, was somewhat rusty, and but little used, as being a walking sword, which the Highlanders never make use of in their own countrey. The Duke, after a second attempt, gave it back to Locheill with this compliment, that his sword never used to be so uneasy to draw when the Croun wanted its service! Locheill, who was modest even to excess, was so confounded, that he could make no return to so high a compliment; and knowing nothing of the Duke's intention, he drew the sword, and returned it to his Royal Highness, who, addressing himself to those about him, "You see, my Lords," said he smiling, "Locheil's sword gives obedience to no hand but his own!" And thereupon was pleased to Knight him. So many expressions of favour soon drew after it that of the courtiers, who affected to magnify his exploits, and to compliment him on every triffle; so true it is, that, *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis;* for we have a certain vanity in imitateing our supperiors. While his Royall Highness stayed att Edinburgh, the killing of the souldiers

was never so much as mentioned ; and truely Locheill thought that the Councill had intirely dropt it, otherways it is probable that he would have prevailed with the Duke to have interceeded for him. But no sooner was he gone, than his enemys tooke the advantage, and pusht the prosecution against him and his Clan with outmost rigour.

This unlucky accident putt him to no small trouble and expense. He was obliged to bring a great many of the gentlemen of his name to Edinburgh, and it is certain that the poor fellows who were actwally guilty, as well as those who were accessorey to the cryms they were accused of, had run the riske of their lives, had not Locheill saved them by a stratagem :—Two dayes before that appointed for examining the witnesses, he imployed proper persons to insinuate themselves into the accquantance of such as he was most affraid of, and to entertain them, under the greatest expressions of friendship, with such liquors as they found most to their taste ; and after they had made them drunk, to continue them in that state till the tryall was over. These fellows performed their part so well, that they had all the material witnesses not only drunk, but fast asleep in ane obscure house all that day on which they should have been sworn and examined. By this means the pannels, that is, the persons accused, were all acquitted for want of evidence against them, and Locheil's enemys dissapointed of their revenge.

But what made the greatest noise, at this time, was the famous tryall of the Earl of Argile, for the explication he putt upon the oath called the Test. This oath being designed as a bullwark to the Protestant Religion, a clause was added condemning all resistance, and for renouncing the Covenant, &c. ; and all Officers in Church and State were ordained to take it. The Earl of Argile was then a Privy Counseller, and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury ; and in order to qualify him for these offices, he was obliged to take that oath. He had formerly expressed some reluctance against it, but in the end was satisfyed to swear it, under the following sense and meaning, which he subscrived : " I take it as far as it is consistant with itself, or with the Protestant Religion, and I declair that I mean not to bind up myself not to wish or endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of the Church or State." The

Councill, observing that by his equivocall paraphraze, his Lordship seemed to endeavour to sett the subjects loose from their obedience, and to perpetuate schism in the Church, and faction in the State, in so far as every man's opinion was to be his rule with respect to his loyalty to the King, and submission to the laws, they became earnest suiters to the Earl to pass from his declaratione ; representing, that all such as putt limitations upon their alleadgeance were, by Act of Parliament, guilty of high treason, and that the reasonableness of laws was not to be disputed after they were enacted. But the Earl continueing obstinat, he was prosecuted for high treason before the Parliament ; and the question being concerning the relevancey of the lybell, or the point of law, whither the charge ammounted to high treason or not, it was given against him after a vigorous debate, wherein eight or nine of our most eminent lawers did, by orders from the Councill, assist him. His jury consisted of eleven of the principall nobility and four gentlemen, whereof many were his own relations, and their verdict run in these terms : "They all, in one voice, find the Earl of Argile guilty and culpable of the crimes of high treason, leasing-making, and leasing-telling ; and find, by plurality of votes, the said Earl innocent, and not guilty of perjury." Many people thought these proceedings against the Earl very severe ; but it is agreed upon by all our historians, as well English as Scotch, and even by Bishop Burnet, who was no enemy to the Earl of Argile, that the King designed to have remitted the sentance, as he soon thereafter gave his estate among his children and creditors. But his Lordship was indulged so much liberty in the Castle of Edinburgh, even after he was condemned, that he found an easy opportunity of making his escape into Holland ; where we shall leave him till we have further occasion of enlargeing on his actions in his own country.

The Earl's forfeiture proved a fruitfull source of new troubles to Locheill, as we shall see by and by ; after relating a small adventure that happned in his own country. He had been alwayes remarkably diligent to suppress theft and robery ; and for that end entered into contracts with all his neightbours, whereby the partys mutwally became engaged not only to assist one another in searching for and apprehending them,

but also to punish the guilty with severity ; and, indeid, the licentiousness occasioned by the troubles required all this care and diligence, and Locheil's was such that he soon purged his country of that vermine. However, there was a Commission under the Great Seale in August 1682, which was afterwards renued by proclamation from the Councill in September 1685, issued out to the Sherriff of Inverness-shyre, to hold Circuit or Itinerent Courts through the Highlands for the tryeing and punishing all such delinquents.

The Sherriff marched into Lochaber att the head of seven hundred men for the security of his person and Court ; and was so far from confineing himself to his Commission, that he received and very arbitrarly determined in all complaints brought before him for crims committed during the Civil Wars and confusions in the kingdome. Locheill, among others, was summoned to this Court. He appeared with a body of four hundred men under pretext of guarding the Judge, but in reallity to save his people from injustice and oppression. He forsaw that the Sherriff's haughty and tiranick procedure would be attended with trouble ; and to prevent it, he could fall upon no method so effectwall as that of dismissing the Court by some politicall contrivance or other. He singled out three or four of the most cunning and sagacious, but withall the most mischievous and turbulent amongst his followers. Under pretence of inquireing into their conduct, with these he walked a short way from the place where the Court was sitting, and pretending to be very thoughtfull and serious, he dropt these words in their hearing, as if he had been meditating and speaking to himself: "Well,—this Judge will ruine us all.—He must be sent home.—I wish I could doe it !—Is there non of my lads so clever as to raise a rabble and tumult among them, and sett them together by the ears? It would send him a-packing.—I have seen them raise mischief when there were not so much need for it !"

The fellows I have mentioned catcht at those expressions with great greediness. They quickly mixt among the Sherriff's train, and in three moments thereafter, Locheill had the pleasure of seeing that vast croud of people in an uproare. The crys of murder and slaughter resounded from all quarters. Severall thousands of swords and durks were drawn,

and yet non knew the quarrell, and such a dreadful noise and confusion of tongues ensued, with the rattle of swords and other weapons strikeing against one another, that the meeting resembled a company of Bedlamits brocke loose from their cells with their chains rattleing about them! The Sheriff, in the meantime, and all the members of his court, were in a hideous fright, and, observing Locheill marching towards them att the head of his men with their swords drawn, they run to him in great haste and begged his protection, which he readily granted, and guarded them out of the country.

Any person who had been a spectator of this uproare, and seen such a number of swords glanceing in the air, (for besides those that the judge brought with him, there came a great confluence of other people from all parts of the country,) would have been apt to have imagined that hundereds would have lost their lives; and yet onely two were killed, and a few wounded, in that noisy squabble. The fellows who began the fray, when they found the flame of sedition and tumult sufficiently kindled, stole artefully off, and joyned their oun people, whom Locheill keept in a body by themselves att some distance; and the Sheriffe, who, after the strickest screutiny, could never inform himself how the quarrell began, thought himself so much obliged to Locheill for the safety he had afforded him in his retreat, that he procured him the thanks of the Councill for that service. However, he declined holding courts in that country ever after, though his commission was renewed to him about three years thereafter.

It will seem surprizeing to posterity that the forfeitures of the Marquess and Earl of Argile should, by an odd caprice of fortune, putt Locheill in danger of looseing his whole estate, and involve him in a share of the punishment, though he was innocent of the guilt. The case was this: The Duke of Gordon was either proprietor or supperior of all that part of Lochaber lyeing on the East side of the Loch and river of Lochy, excepting that portion of it called the Breas, that is, the higher parts of it, which belongs to Macintoish, and is and has been for several ages rented by Macdonald of Keppoch. The other side of the river is Locheil's property, and held of the family of Argile; and the

superiority was consequently a part of his forfeiture. The Duke of York had often signifyed to Locheill, that he judged it a great hardship that such a person as he should be dependent upon any but the Sovereign, and promised to take hold of the first opportunity to free him from that kind of servitude. But the Duke of Gordon, haveing formerly obtained a gift from the Crown of the Marquess of Argile's forfeiture, in so far as extended to the estate of Huntly, included therein the lordship of Lochaber, whereof Locheil's fortune was a part; and infefted himself therein according to the forms of law: And though he often attempted to prevaill with Locheill to become his vassal for that part of his estate which held of Argile, as he formerly was for that called Mammore, yet Locheill, encouraged by his Royall Highness his promises, resolved to apply to the Crown for a grant of the superiority to himself.

With this view, he immediatly posted to the Court, where the Duke of York sollicited so effectually in his behalf, that he not onely obtained the grant, but also a promise of the lands of Swynard and Ardnamurchan, so soon as the writings could be gott ready. Locheill having sent this signature or grant to gett the seals appended to it, and otherways expedited, in the usewall forms, it was quarrelled in Exchequer by the Duke of Gordon's lawers, as containing in it some lands pertaining in property to his Grace. The error proceeded really from Locheil's oun doers, who had inadvertently copied the signature from ane old charter, wherein these lands, now belonging to the Duke, were disponed to Locheil's predicessors by the Crown. Locheill, thus dissapointed by the inadvertency of his lawers, had the draught of a new signature sent him by the very next post; but King Charles dyeing in the mean time, and the Duke succeeding, the hurry and chainges att Court protracted the bussiness till Argile's invasion, which threw all into confusion.

The newes of Argile's landing ariveing att Court about the begining of May 1685, made such a noise, that people of all ranks and degrees were in the utmost confusion and consternation. The King sent for Locheill immediatly, and had a long conference with him upon that subject, in his oun cabanet. His Majesty shewed him a representatione from his Private Committee att Edinburgh, signifying that it would con-

tribute much to his service to send Locheill immediatly home, in order to assist in suppressing that Rebellion. Locheill, thereupon, humbly assured his Majesty that he was ready att all times chearfully to obey his royall commands ; and that, though he were not obliged in duty and alleageance, yet that the hazarding his life and fortune would be too mean a return of gratitude for so many expressions of his royall goodness. The King replyed, that a person who had served the publick so faithfully deserved much more, both of the royall favour and bounty, than he had yet received ; but that he would find a proper season to testify the esteem he had of his merite, and in the mean time recommended to him to assist in defeating the rebellious designs of the common enemy with his usewall zeale and bravery ; and the King haveing asked Locheill what his oppinion was of that affair, he frankly told his Majesty, that though the strength of the rebels was much magnifyed at that distance, yet he so well knew the scituation of these parts, and the loyalty of the people in general, that he was certain it would end in their ruine : That Argile was indeed very powerful while engaged in the service of the Crown ; but that there was no danger to be apprehended when he attempted any thing against it : And this he was so confident of, that he undertook, with the assistance of the M'Leans, of whose loyalty and bravery he had still the best oppinion, to defeat all his designs.

The King answered, that he doubted not his willingness and capacity to execute what he offered ; but that his Councill, haveing already ordered the raising of forces, and recommended the Marquess of Athole, then Lord Leutenant of the shires of Argile and Tarbat, as a proper person to command them, he was unwilling to contradict their oppinion, and ordered Locheill to make what haste he could into his own country to joyn him ; promiseing, upon the word of a King, not to forget his services, nor his affair with the Duke of Gordon.

Locheill came post to Scotland ; and haveing on the 20th of May received his commission from the Privy Councill, and made such dispatch that he raised 300 of his men, sent orders to as many more to follow him ; and was the first Chief that joyned the Marquess of Athol at Inveraray, where the rendesvouze was appoynted, and where, in a few dayes,

there were more men than were necessary for that service, which made Locheill return such of his as were on their march to joyn him ; for Argil's small army did not much exceed 1500 men. They were all Highlanders, except a few Dutch officers and Scotch fugitives. With these he encamped on that side of Lochfine which is opposite to Inverarey ; and from thence designed to have surprized and attacked the King's troops in the night, he being master of all the boats on Lochfine, as afterwards was discovered from some of their confessions. To prevent such attempts, my Lord Atholl commanded fifteen of Lord William Murray s troop of horse, consisting of Perthshyre gentlemen, with ane officer, to post themselves att a ferry called Kilbride, which is about three miles from the town, in order to watch the motions of the enemy. A party of the Macleans were posted about the distance of a mile from them, and between them and the town were the Brea-of-Mar men ; and, what was surprizeing, non of these partys knew of the others being out.

In the meantime, the Marquess continned att Invereray without doeing any thing. His Councill of war advised to attack the enemy before they had time to gather more strength ; and Locheill, who was keen to have ane opportunity of obligeing his indulgent Sovereign, offered to perform that service without any other assistants but the Macleans. The Marquess misstook Locheil's offer for a reflection on his conduct ; in so much that, with ane air of anger and resentment, he answered, that Locheill it would seem had a very great confidence in himself ;—that he had the honour to command the King's troops, and that he was resolved to miss no opportunity to discharge himself faithfully of that duty. This sharp repulse made a great noise in the camp ; and as all such accidents are commonly augmented, there went about a current report of the Marquess his informing the Councill, that he had such grounds to suspect that the Earl of Breadalbane and Sir Ewen Cameron were in concert with Argile, that he durst not adventure to attack him.

As one missfortune comes ordinarly on the back of another, it happned that Locheill was ordered by Major-General Buchan to march out with his men, towards the evening, and reconnoitre the fields, without being any ways informed of the partys I have mentioned ; nor could he

know any thing of them, for they had taken their posts but some few hours before. When Locheill came in view of the first party he took them for enemys, and prepared to attack them ; but, upon a nearer approach, daylight not being yet quite spent, he began to decern their collours, and soon understood his mistake. He had also very near fallen into the same errour, when he advanced towards the M'Leans, but they being his neightbours, he came likeways to know them. Some of the gentlemen of that name joyned him for company's sake ; and as they marched forward, it being now dark night, they descerned several fires att a distance, and some people on horseback rideing about them. Hereupon they concluded that the enemy had taken the advantage of the night to ferry over the Loch, att that narrow passage ; but, in order to be better informed, Locheill ordered two of his men to take a full view of them from ane adjacent eminence, and in the mean time prepared to attack them att all adventures. When his spyes returned, they confirmed him in his oppinion, and assured him that their numbers exceeded 1000, among which they observed severals on horseback ; for, att the place where the gentlemen were posted, there being a great deale of shrubs and bushes, they by the light of the fires misstook them att a distance for so many men. The gentlemen, in the mean time, hearing a noise, and being therewith allarmed, advanced a little forward, and called out to stand. But Locheill, convinced that they were of the enemy, making no answer, one of them rashly fired a pistoll, and wounded one of the Camerons, whereupon the rest fell upon them, and would have undoubtedly cutt them all to pieces, had not Mr Cameron of Callart accidentily known Mr Lynton of Pendrich, as he lay on his back, endeavouring to defend himself from the blows of the broad-sword, by a blunderbush which he held with both hands across his body. This happy discovery saved the rest of these loyall gentlemen, whereof four or five were killed and severals wounded. Locheill was so affected at this melancholy accident, that he could speak none for some moments, and never was known to weep but on this occasion. So strong was the impression that it made on him, that even to the last hour of his life he could not hear of it without fetching a deep sigh.

Mean time, the allarm was brought to the camp, that the enemy haveing ferryed undiscovered over the Loch, had surprized and cutt the gentlemen to peices. All things were in the outmost hurry and confusion, and the army was immediatly ordered to march; but before they were att any great distance from the town, they were informed of the matter as it happned. The Marquess, upon his return, called a councill of war; and this accident being joyned with the malicious report I have mentioned, so far confirmed many in their suspitions of treachrey, that some had the rashness to propose the ordering out a strong detatchment of the troops, and to make Locheill and his men all prissoners; and the Lord Murray, the Marquess, his eldest son, offered to performe that service. But Mr Murray of Struan being present in the councill, opposed the motion as not onely dangerous, but distructive of the King's interest; for, said he, "Such a man as Locheill, upon the head of such a body of men, will not be easily made a prissoner by force. The M'Leans and M'Donalds will probably joyn him; whereby the King will not onely be deprived of the service of his best troops, but a division made in the army, whereof the common enemy will no doubt take the advantage. Besides, it would not only be unjust, but even barbarous, to condemn so many people, who came there to serve their Prince, without being heard; and, it is more than probable, that when the matter comes to be discovered, it will come out wholly to be ane accident, occasioned by some mistake or other." This oppinion prevailed, and the councill brock up without comeing to any violent resolution.

Locheill, all this while, keept his men aside, and was joyned by the M'Leans. After the first motions of his passion were over, he began to deliberat on what he should do, and soon determined himself not to be made a prissoner. If he was to suffer, he resolved that it should be by the sentence of his master and Sovereign, who had hitherto honoured him with his royall favour. The M'Leans encouraged him in this resolution, and generously offered to stand by him in all fortunes. He advanced near to the camp, that he might the more easily inform himself of what passed, and drew up his men in two lines, with orders to the left to wheel about in case of being attacked; that so, being joyned back

to back, they might make two fronts. In this posture they stood all that night, and for most of the day following; and towards the evening had orders to joyn the army, with full assurance of safety; for by this time the Marquess had informed himself fully of the matter, which he owned to Locheill to be a meer accident, for which he was not to be blamed, and signified as much in a letter he wrote on that subject to my Lord Tarbat, who intimated it to the Councill.

The enemy continueing still on the opposite side of the Loch, att the house of Ardkinglaws, and there happening a light skirmish between a party of theirs, and another commanded by Captain Mackenzie of Suddy, Locheill, who laid hold on all opportunitys of shewing his zeale in that service, made what haste he could to have joyned him, with a designe, if possible, to have drawn on ane engagement; but before he came up with them, he was commanded to return by ane express order from the Marquess. In two days thereafter, the enemy retreated towards a place called Glenderrowen; and the King's troops marched to Ardkinglaws, which they had deserted, and followed them till they arrived att the mouth or entry of the glen; and, had they proceeded with any tollerable speed to the place where the enemy was posted, they might either have killed or made them all prissoners. But, instead of marching directly through the glen, the army was ordered to turn about by the foot of the hill, and direct their course towards Stralachlan; by which means the passage was left open for their escape.

The nixt day the army was ordered to march back the same way, and to enter the glen, after the enemy were gone; and the same night Locheill was ordered to march with a strong detatchment of the Clans, to prevent Argile's crossing the ferry of Portnadernag. Though he marched all that night with the greatest expedition, yet Argile crossed the ferry before they could come up with them. Nixt day, however, he surprized the Laird of Isleand-greig, with his son and others of the rebells, whom he delivered prissoners upon his return to the Marquess. Argile was soon thereafter taken by a weaver, who attacked him att the foard of Inchinnan near Glasgow, as he was crosseing that small river, and used him barbarously. Rumbald, the maltster, who had formerly

been concerned in the Reyhouse Plot, and many other leading men of that party, were apprehended about the same time and sent to Edinburgh.

The army disbanded on the 21st of June 1685, with orders to attend the Marquess att Glasgow on the 7th of July thereafter, and Locheill parted with him good friends, in appearance.

The troubles being thus settled, the Councill wrote letters of thanks to all the principall persons who had been most active in that service. That to Locheill was in this form :

"Right Honourable,

"These are warranding yow to disband the men under your command, and to return them home, with thanks for your harty concurrance in his Majesty's service ; and to desire yow to be ready to come out when his Majesty's service, and your oun interest, shall require it. This, in name of the Councill, is injoyned yow by your most humble servant,

(*Subscribitur*) "Perth, Cancell. *I. P. D.*"

The Earl of Argile was beheaded publickly att the cross of Edinburgh, upon the first of July thereafter, without any new process against him, for his actuall rebellion. The reason that lawers give for not bringing him to a second tryall is, that haveing been condemned already for the crime of High Treason, he could not, by law, be tryed again for the very same crime of Treason, for which he already stood convicted, the law haveing exhausted its revenge by the first sentance. But truely the matter seems indifferent ; for if his sentance for the first crime seemed too severe, the second filled up the measure of his iniquity.

Great were the honours that were heaped upon the Marquess of Athole. He was admitted into the Privy Councill, appointed Keeper of the Great Seall, and had several other offices bestowed upon him, whereby he came to be in great power and authority. Though his Lordship seemed satisfyed of Locheil's innocence with respect to his missfortune att Invereray, yet he inclined, upon I know not what new grounds, to have him brought to a tryall for it before the Councill. He

transmitted a very unfavourable representation of it to the King, and obtained a warrand for apprehending him. But, as he knew that this design was not easily to be executed by force, he procured ane order for Captain Mackenzie of Suddey, for marching into that country with his companey, under pretext of suppressing some disorders which he alleadged had lately happened there ; but his private orders were to surprize Locheill, and bring him prissoner to Edinburgh. His eldest daughter, Mrs Margaret, being then in the city, had secretly information of the designe against her father from some of his friends in the Privy Councill, and immediatly dispatched one Cameron, a souldier in the City Guards, with letters advertizeing him of his danger. The messenger ariving in due time, Locheill stept aside while the Captain made his visite, and being fully determined to ride post to Court, to which he was much incouraged by letters from several of his friends there, and particularly from the Earl of Breadalbane, intimating that he was still in favour with his Majesty, and that the information against him was not near so invidious as was given out by some who inclined to sow discord between him and the Marquess of Athol. He sett out that very day, and having conversed with some of his principall friends in Edinburgh as he passed by, he took post horses, and arrived att London before it was known to his antagonists that he had left Lochaber.

He found his friends att Court so prepossessed with the notions of his guilt, which had been industriously spread about by his adversarys in the most odious colours, and so firmly perswaded that the King would not see him, but abandon him to the common course of law, that they all one by one, after repeated application, absolutely refused to introduce him, and many of them seemed even afraid to converse with him, though in the most cautious and private manner.

Robert Barclay of Ury, the famous Quaker, and great favourite of King James, a person of very extraordinary parts, whose sister Locheill had married some few months before, wrote in his favours to several of the English Nobility, with whom he was very intimate and familiar, as he was even with his Majesty. All these declined to do him that peice of service, though they mostly offered him their friendship with all the

good offices they could do him in private. Mr Barclay, in his letter to Locheill, advises him to endeavour by all means to obtain private access to the King, and not to trust the clearing of his innocencey to any second hand; and to remember the Earl of Middletoun's reproofe with respect to his foolish modesty, which was the onely bar to his advancement, and had been so often the ruine of his affairs. The reproofe alluded to in this letter happened on this occasion: Locheill, the last time he was att Court, happening in companey with Mr Drummond of Balhaldys, who soon thereafter married his eldest daughter, to make a visite to the Earl of Middletoun, he, among other things, solicited his Lordship to interceed for him with the King for dispatch in his affairs. The Earl, who had observed from his Majesty's speaking with Locheill for some minutes, every time that he chanced to see him, and from many other marks of distinction, in what high degree of favour he was with his Majesty, answered, that he was surprized how he, who was the distinguished favourite att Court, came to demand his Lordship's small interest; for, to his certain knowledge, nothing stood in his way to the highest preferment but his oun excessive modesty! "And it seems very odd to me, (said he,) that a person indued with your prudence, judgement, and fortitude, should be so bashfull in his oun affairs as to want resolution to demand common justice from a Prince so prepossessed in your favours that he can deny yow nothing: But the treuth is, yow have not the assurance to look any person that is your superior stedfastly in the face, except he has a naked sword in his hand!" Locheill answered, that having passed the greatest part of his youth in the hills, his Lordship knew he had not the benefite of a courtly education.

This was indeed Locheil's greatest foible, which he never could gett the better of, though he often attempted it. This very Earl of Middletoun, however, deserted him on the occasion I am speaking of, and among all his friends att Court he could find non that had courage enough to serve him, except Leutenant-General Drummond, who att the same time undertooke no more than to accquant his Majesty that Locheill was in the city. This General was a son of the Lord Maderty, and being in his younger days bred up in the Muscovite service, he left

it during the Rebellion in order to serve the King, and joyned General Middletoun and the other Loyalists of these times. After the death of General Dalziell, he was, in reward of his merite, made General of the Scotch forces, and afterwards created Lord Viscount of Strathallan by King Charles II. He was ane honest man, a faithfull and sincear friend, and ane incorruptible patriot; besides, he distinguished himself by his learning and parts, and wrote a genealogical history of the Drummonds with judgement and spirite, but it has not yet been printed.

The Lord Strathallan, haveing, as he promised, informed the King of his friend's being in town, his Majesty desired to see him nixt morning, while he was in his dressing-room; and being accquanted that he had been several days there, and that all his accquantances had declined to introduce him, "Tell him," said the King, "that he needed non to introduce him to us, and that we expected the first visite!" These expressions of his Majesty's goodness was more than Locheill expected. He punctwaly obeyed his orders, and throwing himself att the King's feet, said, that he came there as a criminal with a rope about his neck, to putt himself and all his in his royall mercy. His Majesty gave him his hand to kiss, and commanding him to rise, intimated that he had heard of his missfortune, and that accidents of that nature had often fallen out among the best disciplined troops; and subjoyned, that as he believed his zeall in that service had occasioned it, so nothing but his being guilty of actwall rebellion would ever convince him that he could be dissloyall. Locheill expressed the deep sense he had of his Majesty's royall goodness in the best manner he could; and his Majesty haveing desired him to relate the particulars of their late expedition against Argile, he did it in few words, and in the most modest manner, and carefully avoyding all reflections on the conduct of others, he related his oun missfortune in such terms as made his Majesty say, that he ought rather to have been pityed and conforted for so afflicting ane accident than accused; and that it was wholly owing to his Generals, who ought to have informed him of the posts of the several partys, which would have effectwally prevented it.

His Majesty being dressed, he commanded Locheill to follow him

closs att his back; and when he had walked into the middle of the Chamber of Presence, where there was a very splendid and numerous Court: "My Lords and Gentlemen," said the King in a very gay manner, "I advise yow to have a care of your purses, for the King of the Thieves is att my back!" And then, turning about to Locheill, he said he would be glade to see him often while he stayed in town, and thanked him for his faithfull service in the late Rebellion. Never was there a brighter example of the servile complaisance of courteours than Locheill had on this occasion; for he now had them all about him, congratulating him upon his Majesty's favour, and offering him their services, though, the very day before, he could find but one among them that would serve him so far as barely to mention his name to his Majestie. The King, on his part, lett slip no opportunity of testifying his esteem. Sir Ewen never appeared in Court but his Majesty spoke two or three words to him; and if he chanced to meet with him elsewhere, he had always the goodness to inquire about his health, and now and then to putt some jocose question to him, such as, if he was contryving how to steall any of the fine horses he had seen in his Majestie's stables, or in those of his courtiers?

In the mean time, Locheill was informed by his brother-in-law, Mr Barclay, that the Duke of Gordon had taken advantage of his absence to raise ane action against him before the Court of Session, for reduceing or annulling the rights and tittles he had to his whole estate. I am far from thinking that his Grace had any view of ever attaining to the possession of that estate; but his designs seem to have been, to compell Locheill freely to give him the superiority, rather than run the hazard of looseing the property. The Duke had two different pleas against him: The first was for these lands that held of Argile, and the other for the estate of Mammore, which held of himself. To both these he pretended right by virtue of his late Majesty's gift of that part of Argil's forfeiture, but by different tittles in law. His claim to the first was founded upon that antient law, whereby, in horrour of treason, the vassall forfeited equally with the supperior; the law presumeing that his principall strength consisted in his vassalage: Besides, by the few-

dall law, the supperior and vassall were undistinguished persons, and the superior's charters comprehended both as absolute proprietor; and that grant becomeing voyd, and returning to the crown by his crime, the whole lands therein contained fell with his forfeiture.

The Duke of Gordon, in order as well to strengthen his tittle to the estate he claimed by the Marquess of Argile's forfeiture, as to procure a right to the estate of Glenlui and Locharkike, whereof the late Earl his son had accquired the superiority, as I have related, did, upon the 15th January 1685, procure a grant from King Charles of both estates; and did again, on the 29th of January 1686, obtain from King James a new signature or grant of both. The King knew nothing of Locheil's interest in the affair, and highly resented his being imposed upon by the Duke, as we shall have occasion hereafter to observe. The Duke's pretence to the estate of Mammore holding of himself flowed from this, that Locheill had neglected, while the Marquess of Argile was in possession of the estate of Huntly, to get his charters confirmed by the supperior; who, besides his pretended right by Huntly's forfeiture, had adjudged it for his debts, as we have elsewhere hinted; whereby Locheill, being in nonentry, that is, having possessed without paying the fees due to the superior on his entering to that possession, and without procuring a confirmatione of his charter and infeftment in his own person, the estate recognosced, that is, the rights became voyd, and the estate returned to the superior. Nothing could be more unjust than this claim, for, though Duke Gordon had approven of Argile's right to his estate, by refuseing to have it restored to him by ane act of justice, and choiseing to get a gift of it from the crown, as Argile's property, in order to elude the payment of his father's debts, yet Locheill thought it a breatch of the alledgeance he owed to his Sovereign to accept of a confirmatione of his right from any superior, whose original possession flowed from no better tittle than ane unjust and ane illegall sentance of forfeiture pronounced by a rebellious Parliament. This was, in effect, to make loyalty a crime, and to make the predecessor's debts beneficiall to the son.

Locheill complained bitterly to the King of this harsh useage; and told his Majesty, in plain terms, that, if the Duke prevailed, he would

be worse punished for his loyalty than others, not even excepting the leaders, had been for their rebellion! The King answered, that it was true that both he and his brother had been imposed upon, but that he would make him amends. And Duke Gordon being then att Court, his Majesty called for him, and spoke to him in terms that did not satisfie his Grace, accuseing him of no less than the makeing him the author of a barbarous injustice by the surreptitious grant that he had obtained of Locheil's estate. The Duke excused himself the best way he could; and to mitigate his Majesty's displeasure, pretended that he designed to make no further use of it than to ascertain his right of superiority, which Sir Ewen himself could not disclaime. The King replyed, that he would receive his excuse, on condition that he would submitt the matter in controversie to himself, as arbitrator betwixt them. This the Duke could not refuse; and Locheill most willingly consented; a submission was drawn up in form, and all further procedure was stopt.

But the Duke of Monmouth's invasion, and other troubles interveening, nothing was done in this affair till about the spring of the year 1688, that Mr Barclay went to Court and solicited the matter, Locheill haveing returned to Scotland about the begining of 1686, after subscribing the submission to the King.

The Duke of Gordon's was not the only process Locheill was vexed with on account of this forfeiture. He was likeways prosecuted att the instance of one George Seaton, for a debt owing by the Marquess of Argile, to which he had obtained right by decree of the Commissioners and Trustees appointed by his late Majesty for dividing the estate, reall and personall, of the late Earl among his own and his father's creditors. Locheill, being then debtor to the Earl, these Trustees ordered that Mr Seton should be payed his claim out of that debt; but the Duke of Gordon haveing also a claim to all contracts and obligations between the late Earl and Locheill, in virtue of the grant I have mentioned, insisted likeways in ane action against him for the same very thing before the Court of Session. The King had formerly, in a letter to the Lords Commissionars of the Treasury, signifyed his pleasure with respect to that debt, and to all other contracts, obligations, &c. wherein Locheill was

bound to the late Earl, which his Majesty declaired he did not intend should be included in the Duke's gift, and therefore commanded that they should be discharged. But the Duke haveing shifted giveing obedience, Mr Barclay complained of it to the King ; and informed his Majesty fully of the state of the dispute betwixt the partys, as also of Mr Seaton's claime. The King answered, that he would not suffer Locheill to be wronged either by the Duke or by any other person ; that he would have that affair adjusted speedily ; and that the Duke was to waite on him that afternoon in order to excuse his not obeying the letter. And the Earl of Perth, then Chancellour, haveing afterwards informed Mr Barclay, that all that his Grace had to say was to accuse Locheill of I know not what, as he had formerly threatned, he was carefull to attend, and was much satisfyed to hear the King cutt him short, ere he had well begun, by telling his Grace that he needed not to insist upon that, for he believed Locheill to be a very honest and loyall man ; that he had alwayes served him faithfully ; and that he would hear no accusations against him. The King was as good as his word ; for, the very next post, Mr Barclay sent down the following letter from his Majesty to the Commissionars of his Treasury, which I have inserted att length, because it will give the reader some further light into the matters then in dispute :

"James R.

"Right Trustie, &c.—Whereas, by a letter, bearing date the 30th day of Jully 1687, we thought fitt to signifie to the Lords Commissioners of our Treasury our royall will and pleasure, that Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill should have new rights and charters of the property of his lands formerly held by him of the late Earl of Argile, and fallen in our hands by reason of his forfeiture, renewed and given unto him by George Duke of Gordon, our donatory in the superiority thereof, for a small and easey few-duty, not exceeding four merks for every 1000 merks of free rent, as the said letter more fully bears ; and did also order that a full and sufficient discharge should be given to the said Sir Ewen Cameron of all debts, sums of money, and others due by him out of the

saids lands to the late Earl of Argile, notwithstanding they be now included in the said Duke his gift: And we being now informed that some questions have been moved against the said Sir Ewen about the sume of 10,000 merks due by him to the said late Earl of Argile, as a part of the price of the said lands, viz. whither this sum was by our said Letter meant and ordered to be discharged, and whither the same be included in a former gift granted by us to the Duke of Gordon of the forsaids lands, as said is, which bears that we therein make over unto him the right and effect of all contracts and minutes made and past betwixt the said late Earl and the said Sir Ewen. Therefore, and to the effect that our will and pleasure in this matter may be more clearly and distinctly known, and that the said Sir Ewen may enjoy the full benefitt of the favour that we intended for him, we thought fitt hereby to signify unto you, that as, by our aforsaid former gift, we did not intend to dispone unto the said Duke of Gordon all sums of money due by the said Sir Ewen to the said late Earl of Argile, so it was our purpous and pleasure, in our aforsaid letter, that the said Sir Ewen should be discharged and exonered thereof, and particularly of the forsaid sum of 10,000 merks due by him to the said late Earl, as said is: Wherefore, it is our further will and pleasure, that ye take care that the said Sir Ewen Cameron be not troubled nor mollested by any person or persons whatsoever upon account of the forsaid sum, nor any demand thereof made from him, in whole or in part, but that he be fully exonered and discharged for the same att all hands, and in all time comeing, notwithstanding of any procedure that may have been already or hereafter may be made against him att the instance of any person whatsoever; for such is our will and pleasure. And so we bid you heartily fairwell. Given att our Court att Whitehall, the 21st day of May 1688, and of our reign the 4th year.

"By His Majesty's Command,

(*Subscrived*) "MELFORT."

The Duke of Gordon, finding himself under a necessity of complying with his Majesty's pleasure, subscrived the discharge on the 22d of August thereafter; and a state of Mr Seaton's claim was sent to the King, who

stopt all further procedure. Mr Barclay, in the mean time, solicited Locheil's affairs with such success, that the King gave them a hearing in presence of the Marquess of Powis, and the Earls of Murray and Melfort; and, in the end, determined in favours of Locheill in all points. The Duke haveing made several objections, his Majesty commanded these three Lords to hear both partys att more length, and to make a report of their oppinion to himself: "The King" (says Mr Barclay in one of his letters) "launched out into Locheil's praises, and said particularly, which I believe mortifyed the Duke very much, that he was convinced that 'Locheill, besides the great services he had done against the English, had served him very faithfully in the late Rebellion against Argile.' The Duke made a profound bow, and said, that he submitted with joy to the King's pleasure, since it was in favours of a person for whom his Majesty had so high ane esteem." However, his Grace opposed the referees their making a report as far as possibly he could; and his obstinacey and the insatiable desire he had to have Locheil's estate, says Mr Barclay, gave them and him unspeakable trouble.

The Earl of Balcarrass becomeing master of the lands of Swynard and Ardnamurchan, in satisfaction of a claim he had upon the family of Argile, by a decree of the fore-mentioned Commissioners, and a grant from the King in consequence thereof, made ane offer of them to Mr Barclay in behalf of Locheill, for the sum of 40,000 merks. Though this bargain was soon thereafter concluded, yet the Revolution prevented his attaining to the enjoyment.

The Lords Auditors gave the Duke and Mr Barclay a hearing with respect to those lands which Locheill formerly held of Argile; and Mr Barclay haveing presented a charter drawn up in terms of the King's decision, to be subscrived before them by his Grace, he quarreled it on this account, that it did not mention Locheil's lands to ly within his regality. The Marquess of Powis answered, that the King intended it to be so; which being contradicted by the Duke, that point was again brought before his Majesty, "who" (to use Mr Barclay's words) "positively determined that he would not have Locheill nor any of his people lyable to the Duke's courts, for he would have Locheill master of his own Clan,

and onely accountable to him or his Councill for them, and to have no further to doe with his Grace then to pay him his few-duty." This was a point gained meerly by the Duke's obstinacey, for Locheill neither proposed nor expected such ane immunity; and the King, who highly commended Locheill on all occasions, resolved to leave no further place for disputes between his Grace and him, "and plainly insinuats," says Mr Barclay, "that he does all this to make him amends for haveing given away his supperioritys, which I am sure he repents."

To give the reader a fuller view of this famous decision, which made a very great noise att that time, it seldom occurring that Kings interrest themselves so far in private affairs as his Majesty did in this, I shall here transcribe the Lords Auditors their report, which runs in these terms:

"Their haveing been of late some controversies betwixt his Grace the Duke of Gordon and the Laird of Locheill, occasioned by reason of a grant or charter made by the King to the said Duke, wherein were comprehended certain lands, which, by order of his said Majesty, were to be reconveyed to the aforsaid Locheill; which, the more effectwally now to perform, his Majestie hath onely referred the whole method of executing the said grant to the Lord Marquess of Powis, and the Earls of Murray and Mellfort, Secretarys of State for the Kingdom of Scotland, by and with the consent of the aforsaid Duke of Gordon, and of Mr Barclay, agent for the said Locheill, who hath fully impowered him to act in all matters thereunto relating as conclusively as if he himself were present. We, the said referees, haveing mett and perused the charter presented by Mr Barclay to the said Duke, as to the lands formerly held of the late Earl of Argile, and haveing received his exceptions against it, with the said Barclay's answers, and the Duke's replys thereunto; and haveing considered of what was said on the one and the other side, doe, with all submission, find, and are of oppinion:

"1*st*, That it is agreeable to his Majesty's inclinations and orders to us, that the Duke sign the said charter, he being allowed three years (to be filled up in the blank of the declaration given to the said Duke by

the said Barklay) to inspect and rectify the rent-rolls, if amiss; and twenty-four merks Scots be filled up for the few-duty in the charter, payable by Locheill to the said Duke.

"2*dly*, That the said Barclay sign such a penal bond or obligation, as shall be presented to him by us, forfeitable in case the said Locheill make not good the tittles and estates to all persons claiming under him, within the space of one year after the date hereof, (according to the determination and approbation of the Lord Chancelour, Lord President of the Kingdom of Scotland, and Lord Justice-Clerk;) they paying first to him a just proportion of all his charges, in order to the procurement of this charter, rateably, according to each party's respective estate and tittle.

"3*dly*, We likewayes find, by his Majesty's express command to us, that Locheill, under his Majesty onely, is to have the absolute command of his oun Clan; and that, therefore, he be exempted from all other Jurisdictions, Regalitys of Courts, or obligations to the aforsaid Duke, other than the payment of the aforsaid few-duty of twenty-four Scotch merks: Provided, nevertheless, that att the same time the above said Duke be fully secured and indemnifyed from all obligations of any charge or expense whatsomever, by reason of any depredations, riots, thefts, or other causes whatever, that he is, or may, for the future, be lyable to upon the account of any misdemeanours or miscarriages done or committed, or that shall be done or committed, att any time hereafter, by all or any of the tenants of the aforsaid Locheill.

"To conclude: In evidence of this our oppinion and Report in this matter, (so far as relates to that part of the controversey as onely concerns the lands formerly held by Locheill of the said late Earl of Argile,) we have hereunto subscrived our names, the 23d day of Jully 1688.

(*Subscrived*) "Powis.
"Morray.
"Melfort."

The Duke of Gordon was much displeased with this Report; and in order to delay the matter a little longer, he ordered his Dutchess to make

a visite to the Marchioness of Powis, and to prevaill with her to interceed with her Lord to delay giveing it to the King for some dayes: But the Marquess absolutely refused to comply, assuring her that it was the King's commands that it should not be delayed; upon which the Duke said, that he would receive the intimation from non but his Majesty.

The Court removing that day to Windsour, Mr Barclay waited on his Majesty within two days thereafter, where, to the no small vexation of his Grace, he was obliged by the King to subscrive the charter, according to the above Report, in his Majesty's presence: And another of the same tenour for the lands of Mammore, being there presented to him, he also signed it; but, haveing made some alterations in it which the King would not admitt of, but ordered another to be writt immediatly, he subscrived not onely that charter, but also the immunity and accquittance from his Courts before mentioned, wherein he narrates: "That he haveing lately submitted all contraverseys and claims between him and Locheill to his Majesty's determination and decision, and that the King, after hearing his Grace, and Robert Barclay, trustee for Locheill, the better to enable him for his Majesty's service, had decreed and declared that the said Locheill, his vassalls, tenants, and servants, shall not be subject to his Grace's Regality, nor to any other Court or Jurisdiction under him; but that he and they shall ever depend solely on his Majesty and his successors, Kings of Scotland, any gift or charter granted to his Grace by the late King or his present Majesty notwithstanding: And seeing that it was just and reasonable that the said Locheill and his forsaids should be secured, conformably to the King's will and pleasure, he therefore discharges and exoners him and his aforsaids from all dependance upon and subjection to him and his Courts," &c., in very ample form.

Locheill, haveing thus happily concluded his affairs by the favour and indulgence of his most gracious and bountifull Sovereign, imagined that his troubles were now att ane end, and that he would enjoy the fruits of his good fortune in quiet and peace. He was now absolute and inde-

pendent master of his fortune and Clan. He was clear of all debts, excepting some inconsiderable sums to his oun people, who were equally flourishing; and his Majesty, in order to better his circumstances, had not only designed to purchass for him the lands of Swynard and Ardnamurchan from the Earl of Balcarras, and to errect them into a baroney, with ample priviledges; but also to give him a bailliarey or jurisdiction over his Clan and followers; and gave orders to Mr Barclay to get the charter drawn up in the most ample form: But, in the mean time, there was a cloud gathering in a quarter from which his Majestie least expected it, that soon thereafter brock upon him and his kingdoms, and putt all into confusion; and there fell out, att this time, ane accident in Lochaber which threatned some troublesome consequences to Locheill.

We have already hinted that Macdonald of Keppoch had possessed ane estate belonging to the Laird of Macintoish, in property, as his kindly tenant, for many centurys of years; but there was so much of force and violence in this possession, that Macintoish could look upon himself no further as master, than that he some times received such small sums in name of yearly rents as Keppoch was pleased to give; wherefore, haveing formed a resolution to dispossess him, he executed the law in the ordinary course, and prepared to invade him. Locheill interposed as a mediator between the partys, but to no purpose; and, forseeing what would happen, he resolved to meddle no more in the affair, but retired to Edinburgh, and there attended the issue.

There lives in Keppoch's neightbourhood a numerous tribe of the Camerons, that goe by the patronimick name of the M'Martines. These people, by frequent intermarriages with the Macdonalds of Keppoch, being nearly allyed to, and in great friendship with them, on account of the neightbourly interchainge of good offices that commonly passed between them, and finding that Locheill their Chief had left the countrey without signifying his mind, they and many other of the Camerons interpreted this silence as a consent, and offered their service to Keppoch.

Macintoish marched into the Brea of Lochaber att the head of about

1000 men of his Clan and allys, besides a company of the King's troops under the command of the fore-mentioned Captain Mackenzie of Suddy, who joyned him by order of the Councill. Though Keppoch had not much above half this number, yet relying on the courage of his men, and the interest that many of them had in the quarrell, he had the boldness to encounter Macintoish, and though the skirmish was fierce and bloody, yet Macintoish had the missfortune to be defeated with the loss of many of his followers, and made a prissoner. Captain Mackenzie (who had the charracter of a fine gentleman, and brave officer) was also killed in that action. Keppoch, before he dismissed his prissoner, obliged him to renounce his tittle to the lands in dispute; and the Revolution happening the next year, saved him and his people from the resentment of the Government; and matters were in process of time adjusted between them upon a more equall footing.

The newes of these troubles soon reached the Councill; and Locheill, being by law bound for the men he had there, was in no small fears of being called to ane account for them. He advised the matter with the Viscount of Tarbat, his friend and relation, who was a Privy Counselour; and his Lordship, who knew that Locheill had several enemys in the Councill, haveing some suspitions that they would exert themselves on that occasion, promised to advertize him by a sign from a window of the Councill Chamber, where they were to conveen on that very account, if he was in any danger of being confined. The Councill being mett, there was ane Information read, wherein Locheill was accused not onely as accessory to, but even as principall author of the blood that was shed, in so far as it was notorious, that Keppoch durst not have attacked Macintoish with his oun followers without the assistance of the Camerons, for whose crimes Locheill was obliged to answer; that though he stayed att Edinburgh himself, yet that was but a cover; and even his absence was charged upon him as a crime, because it was impossible but he knew of Macintoish his designs, which made too much noise for any to be ignorant of; and, therefore, he ought to have stayed in the country, and endeavoured to have preserved the peace, as the law obliged him. In

short, it was carryed by a plurality of votes, that he should be immediately arrested and committed to prison till a further tryall ; and a warrand was issued out to the Magistrates to putt the decree in execution.

But Locheill was before-hand with them ; for, haveing had the signe from my Lord Tarbatt as they concerted ;—after some perplexity where to conceall himself, a lucky thought struck him in the head, of retireing into the Tolbooth, or city jayle, under pretext of visiteing one of the prissoners. As non could suspect that he would choise such a place of concealment, so he communicated the reason of his being there to none but to James Cameron the Clerk ; who, favouring his designes, he continued there till it was dark night, and stealing out by private ways, gott safely to Lochaber.

About the beginning of October thereafter, he had a letter from the Chancelour, signifying that the Prince of Orange was prepareing to invade England with a great fleet ; and desireing him to march into Argileshyre with as many of his men as he could suddenly gett together, and to joyn Sir John Drummond of Macheny, who was then att Inverarey as Lord Lewtenant of that shire. This order was seconded by another from the Privy Councill of the 4th of that month. The rendezvouze was at a place called Killimichaell, where several of the people of that country joyning them, their whole party ammounted to about twelve hundred men. They effectwally keept that country in obedience, till they were informed by the Chancelour that the King, after finding himself betrayed and deserted on all hands, had retired into France.

While they stayed there, Locheill was, by the Lord Leutenant, putt in the possession of Swynard and Ardnamurchan, agreeably to a warrand from the Earl of Balcarras, bearing date the 3d October 1688 ; and he had thereafter a new grant or charter of that estate from the King soon after his arrivall in Ireland.

Locheill sent his eldest son John with 300 of his men from Inverarey towards Drummond Castle, att the desire of the Chancelour, who was resolved to retire to Lochaber under his protection, and from thence to embarque for Ireland, where he expected to find the King again[st] the spring following. It was unlucky for his Lordship that he chanced in the

mean time to alter his designs ; for, haveing taken shipping att Kirkaldy, a town on the coast of Fife, he was there made prissoner, and confined in the castle of Stirling. Thus dissapoynted, he returned to Lochaber, where he continued all that winter, meditating how he could best serve the King ; and the nixt Book will shew us how he accquitted himself of his loyalty, and of the obligations of honour and gratitude by which he was bound to that unfortunate Prince.

MEMOIRS OF LOCHEILL.

BOOK THIRD.

CONTAINING THE MOST MATERIAL PASSAGES OF HIS LIFE, FROM THE REVOLUTION TO HIS DEATH.

SIR EWEN CAMERON.

Locheill employed himself dureing the winter in projecting measures for forming a confederacy in favours of King James, and was much encouraged in his designs by a letter of the 29th of March 1689, which he received from his Majesty, who had some short time before arrived in Ireland.

This letter bears ane order to be ready att a call, with all his friends and followers, to joyn his forces att such time and place as should be appoynted; with ane assurance, that his Majesty would reimburse what charges he should be putt to; that he would stand to his former declarations in favours of the Protestant Religion, and the liberty and property of the subject; that he would aboundantly reward such as served him faithfully, and punish such as did not; and that he would send Commissions with a power of nameing his own officers.

After receiveing this Letter, Locheill made a visite to all the Chiefs that were near him, and wrote to those att a distance, and found them all heartily inclined to joyn with him in a confederacy for restoreing King

James. They had afterwards a general meeting, and agreed so well in every poynt, that they appoynted their rendezvouze to be again[st] the 13th of May following, in Lochaber, att a place called Dalmacommer, near Locheil's house. They informed King James of their resolutions, and prayed him to send them a proper person to head them, assureing him of their loyalty, and of their willingness to hazard life and fortune in his service.

The odd and sudden turn that affairs then tooke was surprizeing to many. The Revolutioners played their game with such cunning and artifice, as infused a generall fear of Popery into the multitude, and rendered even those who abhorred all chainges in the State as unactive as if they had not been concerned in the matter.

The Councill att first was very unanimous in favours of King James, and concurred in every thing that was offered for his service. The noise of a foreign war seemed for some time to have banished their jealousys and fears; and the gentlemen and burgesses sent new offers of their duety to all quarters of the country. The militia was ordered to be raised and modelled, the Castles of Edinburgh and Stirling plentifully furnished, and the whole kingdome putt into a posture of defence.

It is true, indeed, that some few Scotch Lords, who happned to be att London when the Prince of Orange arrived, took upon them to address his Highness in name of the people of Scotland, but then they had no authority for doeing so, and the Scots Ministry stood then just as it had done formerly, without any seeming inclination to a revolt. His Highness haveing, in his own name, issued out writts for calling a Convention of the Estates of Scotland, many were afraid to answer the summonds, least, if the affair had miscarried, it might have been construed High Treason; and for the very same reason, many who obeyed soon deserted the Convention, when they came to reflect on the authority by which it was conveened.

These things gave the Presbiterians ane opportunity of acting without opposition; but their numbers were so small, that the Convention looked liker a Committee than a representation of the kingdome. The first

thing they did was to vote themselves a free Parliament, and then to offer the Crown and Government to the Prince of Orange, which he most graciously accepted of.

The Viscount of Dundee, Sir George Mackenzy, and some others, opposed these proceedings with great eloquence and vigour, and endeavoured to have gott the Convention adjourned to Stirling; but haveing certain information that six or seven men of these wild Cameronians, who came in great multitudes from the West, conducted by Daniel Ker, brother to Kersland, under pretence of guarding the Convention, were mett in a house, with intention to murder the two great men I have named, they were obliged to retire. Dundee went away with about fifty horse in his company; and as he passed by the Castle, the Duke of Gordon, then Governour, made a sign from the walls to speak with him att the Western side of the Castle. Though the place was extreamly steep and high, yet his Lordship made a shift to inform the Duke of all that he had then resolved on, and begged him to hold out the Castle till it was relieved, which his Grace positively promised to doe.

That night he lay att Dunblain, where he was informed by Mr Drummond of Balhaldys of the confederacy of the Clans, and of all their resolutions in favours of King James. These agreeable news confirmed him in his designs. He marched home to his own house att Didop, and though there was a Lyon Herald and trumpet sent after him by the Councill, ordering him to return under the pain of high treason, yet he excused himself under pretence of his lady's being near her time; but hearing that General Mackay had, upon his refusall, sent a strong party to apprehend him, he retreated into the Duke of Gordon's country, where the Earl of Dunfermline joyned him with about sixty horse.

It is presumed that the reader will not be displeased to have a particular account of the actions of this great man, especially in so far as they have a connection with the subject in hand. Besides the assistance I have from the Earl of Balcarrass his Memoirs of these wars, and the several relations I have had of them from many who were eye-witnesses, I have before me a Manuscript copy of ane Historical Latine Poem, called "The Grameis," written in imitation of Lucan's Pharsalia, (but

unfinished,) by Mr Philips of Amrycloss, who had the office of Standard-Bearer during that famous expedition. This author joyned Dundee in the retreat I have mentioned; as he intimates in these words, "*Ipse ego militiam*," *&c.:*

"I too attend the illustrious Græme along!
The King, my sword, his hero, claimed my song:
Such rare examples antient times affoard,
Thus tunefull Ennius waits on Scipio's sword.
The muses cluster round, nor less my theme,
Equal their merit, and their cause the same."

Dundee's retreat from the Convention gave the allarm to the whole nation, and such was the high opinion generally intertained of his conduct and courage, that he had private intimation sent him from all quarters, that so soon as his Lordship could gett a body of troops together, and that the season of the year was fitt for action, they would risk their lives and fortunes under his command, in King James his service. And to this they were incouraged by the appearances of success that that unfortunate Prince had then in Ireland. From the North he sent ane express to Locheill, to inform himself of the scituation of affairs there; which haveing been intimated to all the Chiefs in that neightbourhood, they agreed to send ane detatchment of 800 men, under the command of Macdonald of Keppoch, to conduct his Lordship into that country. Dundee, unwilling to loose the time that he knew his express would take before his return, made a toure through the Northern Highlands, and soon engaged the people of these parts in that service. Of these our Poet says:

Ad Boream eternis horrentia arva pruinis, &c.:

"To the cold Highlands, where feirce Boreas reigns,
And crusts the hills with snow, with ice the plains,
We march, and call to arms the Grampian race,
Who their loved Sovereign's cause with joy embrace.

They, nixt to Heaven, the Royall name adore,
And impious traitors even as Hell abhore!
Nor dare such monsters breath on Abria's shore.
But doomed to dye, by various means and wayes,
His forfeite life the bloody ransome payes."

Dundee, who loved allways to be in action, haveing with great expedition traversed a good part of these Northern countreys, and engaged most part of the men of note to be ready att a call to joyn in his Master's service, returned by long marches to his own house, where he found his lady in child-bed. But even after all his fatigue, he was again obliged quickly to take the field, and retreat Northward from Generall Mackay, who was advanceing with considerable force to attack him. In this march, he had, by the return of his express, ane answer from the Clans. They gave him new assurances of their zeale for the service, invited him into their countrey, and informed him of the detatchment they had sent to receive him on the borders of the Highlands.

Impatient to meet with these Chiefs, he immediately changed his course, and marched directly to Inverness, and found Keppoch, who, instead of executing his commission, satt down before that toun, seized the Magistrats, and most wealthy citizens, and obliged them to pay him a sum of mony for their ransome, before he consented to dismiss them. His Lordship was extreamly provocked, and expostulated the matter with him in very sharp terms. He told him that such courses were extreamly injurious to the King's interest, and that, instead of acquireing the character of a patriot, he would be looked on as a common robber, and the enemy of mankind! Keppoch excused himself the best way he could, pretended that the toun was owing him sums equall to what he had received, and in place of conducting my Lord Dundee in the manner he was commissioned, he retreated into his oun country.

I have already informed the reader that Keppoch commands a tribe of the Macdonalds who live in the Breas of Lochaber. He was a gentleman of good understanding, of great cunning, and much attached to King James, but indulgeing himself in too great libertys with respect to

those with whom he was att variance, his followers became excessively licentious, and thought they had a good tittle to ruine and undoe their Chief's enemys, by all the wayes they could.

Dundee, being thus dissapointed, returned to the Lowlands, by the way of Badenoch; where he received Letters from King James, with a Commission to command his troops in Scotland, besides other Letters and Commissions directed to the several Highland Chiefs, which his Lordship immediatly dispatched to them. He found the Macphersons of Badenoch very keen and hearty in their inclinations for that service, and that they waited onely ane order from the Duke of Gordon, their superior, to joyn the rest of his vassalls, which he daily promised to send.

Leaveing Mackay behind him in the North with 800 foot, the Colchester regiment of horse, and four troops of dragoons, he returned with such expedition, that before it was known he had left the Highlands, he surprized the Lairds of Blair and Pollock att Perth, with one of the new-raised troops; and haveing seized their horses and arms, made themselves and several other officers his prisoners. From thence he marched into Angus, putt all the disaffected under contribution; and, comeing up with the same quickness to the toun of Dundee, he had allmost surprized the Lords Rollo and Kylsith, who commanded some troops there. Rollo, upon the first allarm, made his escape; but Kylsith, who secretly favoured that interest, wanted onely ane opportunity to joyn him. So says the Poet I have mentioned:

> "The town resists; but Livingstoune, who lov'd
> The King in secret, and Dundee approv'd,
> That he might here a fitt occasion find
> T' unite in action, as they did in mind,
> To his oun troop three hundred burghers joyns,
> And bad them fight their way thro' hostile lines.
> But they refused."———

Dundee, being unwilling to lose time before a town which he had not strength enough to force, traversed several countreys, and had assu-

rances from all the gentlemen, and many of the commons, as he passed, of their readiness to joyn him so soon as he appeared with the Clans; and being in the end much pressed by letters from Locheill to goe into Lochaber, he marched streight through Rannoch to that country, with the good wishes and benedictions of the people as he went along. After a very difficult march he arrived safely at the Brea of Lochaber, whereof our Poet gives this dismall discription:

"*Nil preter montes, et saxa, et amnes lacusque*," *&c.*

"Arriv'd on Abria's skirts, we nothing spy
But mountains frouning in the cloudy sky,
And rugged rocks which round in fragments lye;
Impetuous torrents rage in vales below,
And pools and lakes, their lazy waters show.
Thin cotages the unequall fields adorn,
O'erspread with briars, and rough with prickly thorn;
With warring winds and storms the air is toss'd,
And the ground hard'ned with perpetwal frost!
A desart wild, impatient of the plough,
Where nought but thistles, shrubs, and bushes grow,
And barren heath: And on the mountains high
Deep snow in frozen beds afflicts the eye;
While streams benumb'd with cold forgett to flow,
Stiffen in ice, and into solid grow!"

His Lordship was received by Locheill with all imaginable honour and respect, and was furnished with a house att about a mile's distance from his own, and all the other conveniencys that the country could possibly affoard him. Here, haveing had answers from the Chiefs, with assurances that they would not fail to waite on his Lordship with their several Clans again[st] the day appointed for the rendezvouze, he sent ane account to King James of the present circumstances of affairs, praying his Majesty to come over in person to Scotland, where he generally had the

hearts of the people, and where his Irish troops, who were worth little in their own country, united with his French auxiliarys and Highlanders, would perform wounders, and compose a very formidable army, that would soon make him master of his enemys. He begged his Majesty to reflect on the behaviour of the few naked Irish that served under the great Montrose; how different it was from that of their countrymen who were commanded att the very same time by the Marquess of Ormond! But that if he did not think it proper to come himself, at least to hasten over the Duke of Berwick with the succours he had been pleased so often to promise.

In the mean time, General Mackay was att great pains to sollicite the Clans to a revolt; but he prevailed with non but the Laird of Grant, who was so zealous in that service, that he levyed a regiment att his oun charges, and thereby brought heavy debts on his estate, which was then very opulent. The Laird of Macintoish declaired for neither side; and some others of the Northern Clans followed his example. But that General left no stone unturned to gain Locheill. He offered him a great sum of mony in hand, the government of Inverlochy, the command of a regiment, with what tittles of honour and dignitys he should choise; and assured him that King William had empowered him to make these offers. But Locheill, without opening the Letters, brought them to my Lord Dundee, and begged that he would be pleased to dictate the answers.

Before the Isleanders and others of the distant Clans had time to come up, Dundee's people took two severall expresses from Mackay to Collonell Ramsay, ordering him to march with all speed through the country of Atholl, and joyn him att Inverness. To prevent this conjunction, Dundee resolved immediatly to attack Ramsay, who commanded a body of 1200 horse and foot of the best troops of their army. He had then about 1800 men, whereof one half belonged to Locheill; and though he marched with his usewall expedition, yet Ramsay, haveing gott information of his advance, retreated with that haste and disorder that he blew up his ammunition, and marched day and night till he was quite out of the country. Dundee pursued him many miles, and return-

ing into Badenoch he soon had newes of Mackay's arrivall, and haveing taken the oppinion of his officers, he resolved to give him battle; but Mackay also made so quick a retreat, that it was impossible to come up with him till it was dark night, and the next morning he was out of his reach.

The enemy's escape gave his Lordship some trouble, but since he could not make a better of it att that time, he sent Keppoch, with a detatchment, to summond the garrison of the Castle of Rivan in Badenoch to surrender. Mackay had some few days before putt some men into it; and Captain Forbess, who commanded them, though he made some difficulty att first, yet att last gave it up upon terms, that he and his garrison should be allowed to march away bagg and baggage.

Two troopers in the mean time arriveing from the Viscount of Kilsyth, brought intelligence, that Mackay being reinforced by the junction of some fresh men, was on his march to attack the Highlanders, whom he believed to be att a much greater distance; but that if his Lordship would use expedition enough, he might that very night surprize and cutt them to peices, while they were under no apprehension of his being so near them. One of these troopers, whose name was Provensall, further informed his Lordship, that he and his comerade belonged to that regiment of Scots Dragoons, which was formerly commanded by the Earl of Dunmore; and that they had orders from their officers to assure him that they were all ready to live and dye with him in that service; that before they left England, all the souldiers of that regiment intended to have quitted and dispersed, as his Lordship's oun troop had done; but haveing assurances from their officers, and, particularly, from Captain Murray, in whom they had great confidence, that the designe of keeping them together was truely for King James his service, they made a sham kind of complyance, but resolved to keep their oath of alledgiance, and never to serve King William. Dundee incouraged these troopers in their loyall intentions, and promised to execute my Lord Kilsyth's advice without loss of time, assuring them that he would be with them before nixt morning; but the afore-mentioned Captain Forbess haveing unluckily happned to meet these two men as they were comeing with

their intelligence to Dundee, informed Mackay, who, upon their return, immediately clapt them under arreast, seized my Lord Kilsyth, whom they keept confined for many years thereafter, and disposed of that regiment, so that they were never capable of doeing any service to their old master.

Notwithstanding of this intelligence, Dundee gott up with Mackay, and came in sight of him just as he was decamping; and, in order to gett betwixt him and the Lowlands, he marched up Glenlivet, and turned doun Strathdown, and would have undoubtedly intercepted and forced him to ane engagement, if the darkness of the night, among these high mountains, had not favoured his retreat; for though Mackay, informed by Gordon of Edenglassy of Dundee's march, retreated, or rather fled with the greatest quickness imaginable, yet Dundee marched with that expedition, that he came in sight of him about four in the afternoon; but such were the difficultys he encountered in that fatigueing march, that it was eleven att night before he could get up with him, and was informed next day, that the enemy were att the distance of twelve long miles before nixt morning.

Mr Philips assures us, that the Highlanders came up so closs with them at the foot of Glenlivet, that they raised a great shout, and threw off their plaids in order to attack them; but they continueing their flight, Dundee detatched Captain Frazer with a troop of horse and some foot, to fall upon their rear and provock them to a skirmish, but to no purpose, for they still marched the faster till night gave them security. Thus did Dundee, says that author, force them to abandon their camp three times in one day—

"*Uno eodemque die, ter castris exuit hostem!*"

Dureing this march, Keppoch, whose enmity to Macintoish I have formerly mentioned, took ane opportunity of doeing him and his tenants a great deale of mischief; for, without communicating his intentions to any person, he slipt away unobserved with his followers, and ravaged and destroyed the country, and, burning his oun house of Dunachton,

returned laden with booty. Dundee, who in his march had observed the country all in a flame, but had not then time to inquire into the matter, was in a very great rage when he was informed of the authors. He told Keppoch, in presence of all the officers of his small army, that he would much rather choise to serve as a common souldier among disciplined troops, than command such men as he, who seemed to make it his business to draw the odium of the country upon him: That though he had committed these outrages in revenge of his oun private quarrell, yet it would be generally believed that he had acted by authority: That since he was resolved to doe what he pleased, without any regard to command, and the publick good, he begged that he would immediatly begone with his men, that he might not hereafter have ane opportunity of affronting the Generall at his pleasure, or of making him and the better disposed troops a cover to his robberys.—Keppoch, who did not expect so severe a rebuke, humbly begged his Lordship's pardon, and told him that he would not have abused Macintoish so, if he had not thought him ane enemy to the King, as well as to himself; that he was heartily sorry for what was past, but since that could not be amended, he solemnly promised a submissive obedience for the future, and that neither he nor any of his men should att any time thereafter stirr one foot without his Lordship's positive commands.

Dundee, after so fatigueing a march, thought it proper to refresh his wearyed troops, by allowing them a few days rest att Edenglassy. They found plenty of provisions which had been provided for Mackay and his army; but he had not rested here above two days, when certain information was brought by some officers of the Scots Dragoons who had made a shift to gett to the Highland army, that Mackay being now strengthned by Collonel Ramsay's Regiment of Dragoons, and ane English Regiment of Foot, had turned the chace, and was on a full march to attack the Highlanders, whom he expected to find in disorder. His Lordship was sitting att dinner, with his principall officers, when this intelligence was brought him. He advised with them immediatly about the course they were to take, and it was unanimously agreed to by the Generall and his officers to retreat to the hills, not so much on account

of the enemy's superiority in numbers, which exceeded theirs by more than a half, but because of their strength in horse, which the Highlanders att that time feared above all things. But it was, however, agreed to conceal the reasons that putt them upon these measures, least the Highlanders should suspect their own strength, and dread that of their enemys, which might probably intimidate them, and sink their spirits, which were then much elated.

The army was immediatly drawn out without any noise or hurry; and the reason assigned for their return was, to attend the generall rendezvouze, to which it was said the most distant Clans were already arrived. This prudent conduct had the effect designed, though it lost Dundee a few of his followers; for, being ignorant of their danger, and resolveing not to leave ane enemy's countrey empty-handed, a few stayed behind, with designe of carrying with them some of the most portable moveables they could fall upon. Some of them were surprized by Gordon of Edenglassy, who hanged them up to the nixt trees; and others of them were used in the same manner by the Laird of Grant, who had espoused Mackay's party with more than ordinary zeale and keenness.

Dundee retreated towards the hills in very good order, and keept such a strong rear-guard, that Mackay, who made but very slow marches, durst not venture to attack him. As he was thus marching along the banks of the river Spey to the country of Badenoch, two hundred of Sir John M'Lean's Isleanders, under the command of M'Lean of Lochbuy, who were comeing to meet him, ran the risk of being cutt in peices by three hundred English Dragoons that were closs on them before they knew them for enemys. It was then night, and the Lord Dundee, who was informed of their march, being afraid they might mistake their way, detatched Macdonald of Glencoe to conduct them to his camp. Though they were att no great distance when they were thus surprized, yet the river of Spey being between them and their friends, they were obliged to throw off their plaids, as their custome is, and to force their way towards a neightbouring hill called Knockbrecht, or the speckled hill, where they drew up. The officer who commanded the Dragoons, finding that there was no possibility of ascending the hill on horse-back, commanded

his men to light and attack them on foot; but the Macleans disdaining to be insulted, fell doun upon them with sword in hand, cutt severalls of them to pieces before they could recover their sadles, killed the commanding officer, made many prissoners, and seized more of their horses, and haveing given them the chace for a good way, they early nixt morning entered Dundee's camp mostly mounted on the enemy's horses in a triumphant manner. Mr Philips says, that he having the command of a party which guarded the foard of Spey that night, had the honour to conduct them to the Generall, who, haveing been alarmed with the noise of their firing dureing a part of the night, was drawing out his army to come to their relief. This author differs in several particulars from my Lord Balcarrass, from whom I have taken the above accounnt of that brisk action. As this is, perhaps, one of the most elegant passages of the whole poem, I have translated it for the pleasure of my readers, referring them to the Appendix for the original:

"Meanwhile, Lochbuy, from the rocky Isle
Of warlick Mull, advanced to joyn Dundee.
Three hundred brave M'Leans composed his train;
A generous loyal Clan, whose faithfull blood,
Untainted, filled his vains! Quiet he marched along
The banks of Spey, in silence of the night.
The Royall camp unknown, a stranger he,
And unacquainted, in the gloomy shade
Upon a hostile troop of Belgick horse,
Th' advanced guards, whom he believed his friends,
Erroneous fell. Stop!—the hoarse sentry bauld
In horrid Dutch, and streight upon them fir'd.
The rest allarm'd, a thundering pale of shot
Discharg'd, and tore the air with fire and smoake.
The brave M'Leans the compliment return'd,
And scattered flameing death among the foe:
Then forming in a wedge, their thickest lines
They peirc'd, and through the furious squadron broke

With sword in hand ; nor halted they untill
They gain'd a neightbouring eminence, a rock,
Whose frouning top among the clouds conceal'd
Show'd all its battered sides, with ragged stones
And fragments huge perplex'd, and tooke its name
From blood which their impervious surface stain'd :
Where, as with ramparts fenc'd, secure they lodg'd
Superior to the foe. Thither in haste,
(And with collected force of different lands,
Germans, Dutch, English, rebell Scots, and Danes,)
The adverse troops persue. Oft did they aim
With fire and sword to storm the rugged camp ;
But all in vain ! With spears, and darts, and stones,
And rocks, which, tumbleing doun with hideous din,
O'erwhelm'd both horse and man, they headlong drove
The insulting foe, who, with their mangled limbs,
And brains, and blood, the ragged flints besmear'd !

Their leader, daring, haughty, fierce, and proud,
In war delighted, and with keenest rage
His foe pursued : Great Brittain's Southern shoare,
His boasted clime ; the English horse obeyed
His awfull word, and rough Batavian troops,—
His shining neck a golden collar graced,
And from his shoulder hung a scarlet sash,
Over a purple robe conspicuous far
With golden lace, and rich imbroiderys shone.
Enrag'd to see his baffled troops repell'd,
And scattered 'mongst the rocks their tatter'd limbs,
He gnash'd his teeth ; and, mad with fury bauld,
'Come doun, ye thieves ! Ye barbarous crew, descend !
'And on the equall plain your courage prove,
'Nor lurk behind these rocks, if ye are men !'
Then, as impelled by rage, of all delay

Impatient, furious he commands his troops
The precipice t' ascend, and drive them down,
Or leave their battered carcasses a prey
To wolfs and dogs—and fearless leads them on.

But undismay'd the stout M'Leans beheld
The audacious foe, and with firm hearts resolv'd
By manly deeds to answer boastings vain.
And quick as thought to his unerring eye
His thoundering peice a warriour bold apply'd,
Whence, as from fate, a whizzing bullet flew
With fire and sulphure wing'd, and att the mouth
Of the proud boaster entering, peirc'd his lungs
With rapid speed, and att the lower end
Its passage made. Doun to the earth he fell,
And rowleing round his languid eyes, his soule
Furth issueing with his blood, dissolved in air!"

Dundee, in the meantime, allarmed with the noise of their shot, which was much augmented by the echoeing of the hills, and doubtfull of the event, prepared to relieve them; which he thought might bring on a generall engagement. But day soon thereafter appearing, he had information of all that happned. The army, continueing its march to Lochaber, met Sir Alexander M'Lean, who was son to the Bishop of the Isles, and who brought with him two hundred men out of Argileshire, belonging mostly to M'Donald of Largoe and Gallusky. They halted two days att Keppoch, where the scarcity of provisions in these barren parts obliged the General to dismiss all his men, upon their giveing assurance that they would be all ready to joyn him upon twenty-four hours advertisement, excepting the few horses he had with him, and those that came with Sir Alexander M'Lean, whom he retained as a guard to his person. From thence Locheill invited the General back to his old quarters att Strone, assureing him that while there was a cow in Lochaber, neither he nor his men should want. However, they had difficulty

enough to subsist themselves in any tollerable manner, the cattle being yet very lean, and all the market towns and countrys, from whence provisions could be had, possessed by the enemy. A few days after their arrival the Isleanders, under the command of Sir Donald M'Donald of Slate, who brought with him about seven hundred men, and those belonging to the Captain of Clanrannald, who had near six hundred, conducted by his tutor, joyned his Lordship.

Sir Donald is by some esteemed the Chief of the brave and numerous sirname of M'Donald, as the direct descendant of the antient Earls of Ross; and many arguments from historey and old records are adduced in support of this opinion, though it is, however, much controverted. He was a person of great honour and integrity, and conducted all his actions by the strickest rules of religion and morality. Unalterable in his attachment to the Royall Family, he lett slip no opportunity of expressing his zeall in that service, and that without any other view than of fulfilling his duty. He looked upon his Clan as his children, and upon the King as the father of his country; and as he was possessed of a very opulent fortune, handed down to him from a long race of very noble ancestours, so he lived in the greatest affluence, but with a wise economy.

Mr Philips describes the appearance he made att the general rendezvouze in the following manner:

> "Nixt from the Northern world's remotest shoars,
> Where, round th' Ebudæ, boisterous Ocean roars,
> The great Sir Donald, Lord of many Isles,
> Whose youthful grace in vigorous manhood smiles,
> Marched o'er the ample field, and of his line,
> In his bright train five hundred warriours shine,
> Well arm'd and fierce, whom from the Skeyan shoar,
> In long flatt-bottom'd boats, he wafted o'er."

The Captain of Clanrannald was then a youth under the guardianship of a tutor; but even then gave very promiseing hopes of the character he afterwards attained to. Notwithstanding of the tenderness of his

years, he would needs follow the royall standart that he might be early initiated into King James his service, which he never deserted. After the present troubles were over he traveled into France for his education, which was particularly taken care of by the late King James, and soone became one of the most accomplished gentlemen of this or perhaps any other preceeding age. After he had shined for some years in the Court of St Germans, he, by his Master's interest, obtained a command in the French service, under the Duke of Berwick, and accquired to himself a considerable reputation in that army. After the peace he returned to the Court of St Germans, where he fell deeply in love with a young lady who then made a great figure there, and who was no less distinguished by her uncommon beauty, and the graces of her person, than by the vivacity of her witt, and the sweetness of her temper; besides that her prudence and conduct gave no small reputation to her judgement, and added much to the lustre of her charms. Two such persons, who seemed formed by nature for each other, could not well miss to conceive that mutuall esteem that soon introduces love among people of distinguished merite; and the event showed that no couple were ever more happily matched. Some time after his marriage he returned to his own country, which lyes among the remotest of the Western Isles; and though almost out of the world, yet the reputation this happy pair gained by the elegancy and politeness of their taste, drew companey from all parts of the kingdom, and formed a kind of a little court which made no small noise in these parts. This fine gentleman was afterwards killed at the battle of Sheriffmoor, and had the happiness, in the last scene of his life, to be equally lamented by friends and foes. He lyes interred att Innerpeffery, in the burying-place of the antient and noble family of Perth.

The House of Clanrannald is also a descendant of the Earle of Ross, but whether in the direct or collateral line, I shall not take upon me to determine. The tittle of "Captain" was antiently born by all the Highland Chiefs; but it is now in disuse, and this family is the onely one of figure that now retains it. We shall dismiss him with the character our poet gives him in his greener years:

"Clanrannald nixt, a Chief of noted name,
To great Dundee from distant regions came;
And though his tender bloom just then began
To shew the sex, and enter into man,
When sprightly nature, ere the down appears,
To sportive passions warms the youthfull years;
Yet then, so much his country's love possesed,
Such thirst of fame inspyred his glowing breast,
That his great soule left lagging Time behind,
Where all the future hero early shin'd:
And to the dangerous fields of honour led
All those his Isles, all those his Moydart bred.
A brave brigade, in which five hundred shine
In all the valour of great Donald's line!"

I shall have hereafter occasion to mention some others of the principall gentlemen that were ingaged in that quarrell. And, in the meantime, to proceed.

Dundee, being thus strengthened by the accession of the Macdonalds, made a proposal to his councill of war of imploying the time that they waited the arivall of the rest of the Clans in disciplining their men. The young Chiefs and all the Lowland officers highly approved of the motion, but Locheill, now past the sixtyeth year of his age, was of a different opinion. He informed the councill, "That as from his youth he had been bred up among the Highlanders, so he had made many observations upon the naturall temper of the people and their method of fighting: That to pretend to alter any thing in their old customes, whereof they are exceedingly tenatious, would intirely ruin them, and make them no better than new-raised troops; whereas he was firmly of oppinion, that with their own Chiefs and natural Captains on their head, under the conduct of such a General as my Lord Dundee, they were equall to as many of the best disciplined veterane troops in the kingdome: That they had given repeated proofs of this dureing the whole course of Montrose his victoreys, and that in the skirmishes wherein he

himself had been engaged, he had still the good fortune to route the enemy, though allways much superior to him in numbers. Besides, in all his conflicts with the Cromelians, [Cromwellians,] he had still to doe with old souldiers, whose courage had been fatall to the King and kingdome: And that the M'Leans had given ane evidence, in their late skirmish att Knockbrecht, that they were capable not onely to defend themselves against, but even to defeat a greater body of the present enemey's best troops: That since his Lordship, and perhaps few of the Low-countrey gentlemen and officers in the councill, have ever had the opportunity of being present att a Highland engagement, it would not be amiss to give them a general hint of their method; that it was the same with the antient Gauls, their predecessors, who made so great a figure in the Roman History; and that he believed all the antients made use of the broad-sword and targe in the same manner that they did att present; though the Romans and Grecians taught their troops a certain kind of discipline, to inure them to obedience; and that the Scots, in general, have never made such a figure in the field since they gave over these weapons: That the Highlanders are the onely body of men that retain the old method, excepting in so far that they have of late taken the gun instead of the bow to introduce them into action: That so soone as they are led against the enemy, they come up within a few paces of them, and haveing discharged their peices in their very breasts they throw them down, and draw their swords: That the attack is so furious, that they commonly peirce their ranks, putt them into disorder, and determine the fate of the day in a few moments: That they love alwayes to be in action, and that they have such confidence in their leaders, that even the most dareing and desperat attempt will not intimidate them if they have courage enough to lead them on; so that all the miscarriages of the Highlanders are to be charged on some defect of conduct in their officers, and not either on want of resolution or discipline in them." And he further observed, "That, as a body of Highlanders conducted by their own Chiefs are commonly equall to any foot whatsoever, so, when they come to be disciplined in the modern way, and mixt with regular troops under stranger officers, they are not one straw better than their neightbours; and the reason he

assigned for this change was, that, being turned out of their ordinary method, and not haveing the honour of their Chief and Clan to fight for, they lose their naturall courage when the causes that inspired it are removed. Besides, when, by the harsh rules of discipline, and the savage severity of their officers in the execution of them, they come to be reduced to a state of servitude, their spirits sink, and they become meer formal machines, acted by the impulse of fear. He concluded, that, however necessary military discipline might be in standing armys, yet, since it was not proposed that theirs was to continue any longer than while the present posture of affairs rendered it necessary, they had not time to habituate it, so as to make it easy and usefull to them ; and that, therefore, it was his oppinion that, in all events, it was better to allow them to follow the old habite wherein they were bred, than to begin to teach a new method which they had not time to acquire."

Locheil's oppinion determined the councill ; and my Lord Dundee, upon recollecting all that he had said, declared that as he was certain of victorey from men of so much naturall courage and ferocity, so he would not have made the motion, had he been as well accquanted with them as Locheill had now made him ; and that, as every thing he had advanced carryed conviction along with it, so, though it did not, yet, as there is no argument like matter of fact, he thought himself obliged to take them on the word of one who had so long and so happy ane experience.

While Dundee thus awaited the arrivall of these men whom he had allowed to goe home for want of provision, and of many others who had sent him assurances that they would be with him again[st] the time he had appointed for the general rendezvouze of the whole, a party of the Camerons entered into a resolution of revengeing themselves on the Grants, who, as is formerly mentioned, had hanged two or three of that name without any further provocation than that of a party quarrell, reserving their vengeance against Gordon of Edinglassy to a more proper opportunity. They were encouraged in their designe by the anger that they observed their Chief had conceived for the loss of his men, and they presumed that the General (as they alwayes called my Lord Dundee, whom they loved nixt to their Chief) would not be displeased, if

they, in the circumstances he was in, could supply him with a drove of cattle from the enemy's country. However, they resolved not to run the risk of demanding liberty, least they should be refused, but marched privatly in a considerable body to the country of Urquhart, where they found the Grants in arms ready to oppose them. There happned to be among them one Macdonald, of Glengary's family, though living in that country, who imagined that the simple merite of his name, and the Clan to which he belonged, was enough to protect himself and the whole name of Grant from the revenge of the Camerons. Confident of this, he came boldly up to them, and acquainting them with his name and genealogy, he desired, that, on his account, they would peaceably depart the country, without injureing the inhabitants, his neightbours and friends. To this it was answered, that if he was a true Macdonald, he ought to be with his Chief in Dundee's armey in the service of his King and countrey: That they were att a loss to understand why they should, on his account, extend their friendship to a people who had but a few dayes before seized on several of their men, and hanged them without any other provocation than that they served King James, which was contrarey to the laws of war, as well as of common humanity: That as they had indeed ane esteem for him, both for the name he bore, and the gentleman to whom he belonged, so they desired that he would instantly seperate himself and his cattle from the rest of his companey, whom they were resolved to chastize for their insolence. But the Macdonald replyed, that he would run the same fate with his neightbours; and, daring them to doe their worst, departed in a huff.

The Camerons, without further parly, attacked the Grants, and haveing killed some and dispersed the rest, they made themselves masters of their cattle and goods, and carried them in triumph to Lochaber. The General and their Chief connived att the action, both on account of the provocation they had, and of the supply of provisions which they had brought, and generously distributed among the army. But the forementioned Macdonald haveing had the ill-fate to be killed in the skirmish, Glengary resented his death so highly, that in a great rage he went to the Lord Dundee, and demanded satisfaction on Locheill and

the Camerons. Surprised att the oddness of the thing, his Lordship asked, What manner of satisfaction he wanted? "For," said he, "I believe it would puzzle the ablest judges to fix upon it, even upon the supposition that they were in the wrong;" and added, that, "if there was any injury done, it was to him, as Generall of the King's troops, in so far as they had acted without commission." Glengary answered, that they had equally injured and affronted both; and that, therefore, they ought to be punished, in order to deter others from following their example. Dundee replyed, that had they been troops regularly payed and disciplined, undoubtedly they would have been lyable to such a punishment as the council of war should have inflicted on them; but as they lived upon themselves, and were unacquainted with military laws, all that he can pretend to doe was to save the country, in general, from ravages and depredations of that nature. But, in the present case, the provocation they had was great, they resented a common quarrell, and had distributed the booty, which came seasonably enough to supply their urgent necessitys. Besides, they had troubled non but the King's open and declared enemys, and though it was irregularly done, yet he thought it good policy to connive att it. But, on the other hand, he could not conceive the offence they had done Glengarry! They had, it was true, killed a fellow of his Clan, who was of the enemy's party, and would not seperate from them. "If such ane accident," continued his Lordship, "is a just ground for raising disturbance in our small army, we shall not dare to engage the King's enemys, least there may chance to be some of your name and following among them who may happen to be killed."

This affair made a great noise in the camp. Such as were not acquainted with Glengary's temper and policy, began to be apprehensive of the event; for he threatned highly, that since he could not have it from the General, he would take revenge att his oun hand. And, when it was objected, that he would not be able to make it good, since his followers were not near equall to Locheil's in numbers, he answered, that the courage of his men would make up that defect. But Locheill laught att the storey, and said merrily, that he hoped that a few dayes would give him ane opportunity of exerting that superiority of valour

he boasted off so loudly against the common enemy ; and that he would be exceedingly well-pleased to be outdone in the generous emulation. The event showed that Locheill made a right judgement of the man. For, though they all dined, as they usewally did, with Dundee that very day, yet Glengary neither then nor ever afterwards so much as mentioned the matter, which, from that moment, was hushed, and the partys seemed as good friends as ever. For the truth is, Glengary, who was a person of profound judgement and great courage, acted meerly out of policy, and meant nothing more by the great noise he made, but to ingratiate himself with his people, by humouring their vanity, and shewing them that the least injury offered to the very meanest of them was equally his own quarrell ; by which means, he gained so upon his commons, that they assisted him to suppress and humble such of the better sort as pretended either to rivall or contradict him.

In this posture were King James his affairs about the middle of July 1689, when the Lord Murray, son to the Marquess of Atholl, so often mentioned, arrived in Atholl ; where he gave out that he was determined to joyn Dundee in his late Majesty's service with all the power he was able to raise, and soon got together a body of 1200 good men. With these, he pretended he would defend his country, till the Highland army should be in a condition to march. But Stewart of Ballachan, a dependant on the family of Atholl, began very early to entertain suspicious thoughts of his intentions ; and haveing specifyed the reasons of his jealousys to the Viscount of Dundee, he, by his orders, putt himself and a party of his followers into the Castle of Blair, a strong house, and one of the seats of the family of Atholl, and well scituated to keep open the communication between the army and the people of that country, who declared in favours of King James. The Lord Murray, who knew the importance of the place, haveing, upon his arrivall, summoned the Governour to open the gates, was answered, that seeing he had garrisoned the house by his General's orders for the King's service, he was resolved to keep it till he was commanded to give it up.

Enraged to be refused access to his own house, and that too by one of

his own vassalls, he wrote very instant letters to General M'Kay, who was then in the South, to march with all heast to his assistance, and reduce the castle; shewing, at the same time, of what use and importance it would be to their designs. M'Kay immediatly upon this drew together his army, consisting of six or seven regiments of foot, and two new-levyed troops of English horse, and marched straight into Atholl.

Dundee, having had repeated information of M'Kay's advance, and knowing well that if the castle was reduced, it would cutt off all inteligence betwixt the Northern and Western Highlands, besides that he justly putt the highest value upon the loyalty and courage of the Atholl men, he resolved by all means to prevent it; and made such haste with the Clans that he had about him, amounting to about eighteen hundred men in all, that he arrived before the enemy; haveing left orders for the rest of his army to follow him with all speed, though the day appointed for their rendezvouze was not yet come.

Locheill had non then but his Lochaber men with him, and they did not exceed 240; but upon the first allarm had dispatched his eldest son John and severall other messengers into the adjacent countrys of Morvine, Swynart, Ardnamurchan, and other places, through which the Camerons are dispersed, to bring them up with all hast. But Dundee, being every moment advertized of the quick advance of the enemy, he was affraid there might be a necessity of engageing them before Locheill could arrive, if he stayed in Lochaber till these men joyned him. Unwilling, therefore, to want the advice and assistance of a person who had given so many repeated proofs of his great abilitys in manageing of Highlanders, he sent express upon express, commanding him to follow with the men he had about him, and to leave the care of the rest to his son. While his Lordship waited for Locheill, who came to him before he entered Atholl, he dispatched Major William Graham and Captain Ramsay to the Lord Murray, (who had not vouchsafed to send any return to the letters he had formerly wrote to him,) with orders to represent to his Lordship the honours and advantages he might procure to himself and his family, if he would heartily joyn him in King James his service. That it would be ane easy matter to reduce all Scotland, inclinable of itself to

throw off the present yoak ; that if they succeeded in the first attempt, it should be made known to the King that it was owing to him onely, but that if he refused so glorious ane opportunity of exerting his loyalty to his late kind and indulgent master, who had, even dureing the short time that he exercised the Royal authority, so highly distinguished that family by the honourable and beneficiall imployments which he had heaped upon his father ; he begged him to considder how much such a monstrous peice of ingratitude would reflect upon his own and his father's honour.

But his Lordship was deaffe to all arguments, and would not so much as see the messengers, nor return them ane answer ; but they had wisely taken care to inform his men of the import of their commission, which was every way agreeable to their inclinations. They were soon convinced, from the treatment of these gentlemen, that his Lordship had been all the while imposeing on them, and therefore, in order to discover his reall intentions, they addressed him all in a full body, and prayed him either to joyn with my Lord Dundee in King James his service, or otherwayes they threatned instantly to leave him. But his Lordship thought it not proper to give them any other return, but a command to waite his orders ; and they being, on the other hand, already determined how to proceed, without further ceremony, run to the river of Tumble which was near them, filled their bonnets with water, and drank King James his health with many loud huzzas and acclamations, and so deserted him in a full body.

Dundee was, in the meantime, on a quick march to Atholl, but before he entered that country, Major-General Cannon overtook him with three hundred new-raised, naked, undisciplined Irishmen ; which had this bad effect, that the Clans, who had been made believe they were to be supported by a powerfull army from Ireland, with arms, ammunition, and all other provisions, saw themselves miserably dissappoynted ; but they were still further discouraged, when they heard that the ships that King James had sent over with great plenty of meale, beefe, butter, cheese, and other necessarys, were taken by English ships in the Isle of Mull, where Generall Cannon had loytered so long, that the enemy had information of their arrival.

But the brave Lord Dundee was not to be discouraged by accidents of this nature. He had gained so upon the affections of his small army, that, though half starved, they marched forward as chearefully as if they had not felt the least effects of want. He arrived att the Castle of Blair upon the 27th day of July, and had intelligence that M'Kay with his army had already entered the Pass of Gillychranky. This was a narrow path att the foot of a steep, rugged mountain, with a precipice and river below, and a high hill on the opposite side, where three men with great difficulty could walk abreast. It is several miles in length, and though the late Duke of Atholl has been att the trouble of making it passable by coaches and carriages, yet to this day, ane army might be stopt in its march by a few resolute men posted at the mouth or issue of it, and other convenient places; nor is there any other way to march ane army into Atholl from the South but by this pass or defile.

Dundee, before he proceeded further, haveing thought it proper to have the advice of his councill, called all his principall officers together, and laid the case before them according to the information he had received; and the question was, whether they should continue beside the Castle of Blair, the preservation whereof was the occasion of their sudden march, untill their troops arrived, which behooved to be within a few days, the very nixt, or that succeeding it, being the day on which their general rendezvouze was appointed, or whether they should march directly forward and fight the enemy?

The old officers, who had been bred to the command of regular troops, were unanimously of the first oppinion, alleadgeing that it was neither prudent nor cautious to risk ane engadgement against ane army of disciplined men that exceeded theirs in number by more than a half: That as the reputation and success of their arms depended upon the first battle, so they thought it was wise to attend the arivall of their men, and to try their courage by some light skirmishes before they adventured on a general action: That by this means, they would in a manner secure a victory which would not only give ane eclat to their arms, but likeways intimidate the King's enemys, and raise the spirits of his friends, who with impatience waited the event of their first attempt: That the High-

landers, though hardy and brave, were but raw undisciplined troops, who had never seen blood; besides that, they had been wasted and spent by want of provisions, discouraged by their late disappointments, and the remains of their strength exhausted and drained off by their last long, quick, and fatigueing march, deprived not onely of the comforts, but even of the common necessarys of life: That they had, indeed, performed wounders in Montrose his wars; but then, as they had not laboured under the above inconveniencys, so att first they had onely to doe with militia, who were in every respect inferior to themselves; but att present, they were to fight a numerous, well-disciplined body of regular troops, conducted by ane old, experienced General, and encouraged and heartned by plenty and aboundance: And that though the Highlanders might be their equalls, which was even a kind of presumption to imagine, yet that it would be next to madness to fancy them their supperiors in any one quality that belonged to a souldier. That, therefore, it was their oppinion, that since the General had already accomplished his design by covering the Castle of Blair from the seige wherewith it was threatned, they ought by all means not onely to attend the arivall of their men, but also to give them time to recover their strength and spirits by necessary rest; and that, in the meantime, it were proper to awake and rouze up their courage by some brisk attacks and light skirmishes, wherein especial care ought to be taken that they should allways have the advantage.

Such was the oppinion of these gentlemen; and it seemed supported by so many strong reasons, that it for some time occasioned a general silence: But, att last, Alexander Macdonald of Glengary, a gentleman of no small reputation, took the opportunity of declareing his sentiments in that debate. His family is likeways a branch of the antient Lord of the Isles, and though he and severall others putt in their claim for the Chiefship of the whole Clan of Macdonald, yet it seems but indifferently founded. The late Glengary, predecessor to him we speak of, was a very faithfull follower of the Great Montrose, and, while the troubles lasted, adhered so firmly to that cause, that upon the Restoration he was dignifyed with the tittle of Lord Macdonald of Aros; and had he behaved himself with the same integrity to his neightbours as he did to

his Prince, he had dyed with a very unblemished character. Haveing no male issue of his oun body, he intailed his estate upon this Alexander Macdonald and his heirs, though it is alleadged by some, that the family of Ochterraw was nearer in blood; but, indeed, there was such a likeness and resemblance in their geniuses and tempers, that, by this succession, onely the body, and not the spirit and disposition of the Chiefe, seemed to be changed; and if ever the Pithagorean transmigration of soules obtained credit from such a similitude of manners and humours, there is a greater appearance of reason for it in the present case than often occurs. For, he no sooner became master of the estate, than he shewed himself a very zealous asserter of the royall cause, and traced after his predecessor's footsteps in all his conduct. He was, like him, a person of great penetration and good natural parts, but affected more to act in the manner of a politician than in that of ane open, frank, and sincear neightbour. Most of his actions might well admitt of a double construction; and what he appeared generaly to be was seldome what he really was. Meer triffles seemed to be of the greatest consequence under his management; and he loved to meddle with no affair but what bore some distant view of honour or profite: such of his neightbours as were inferior to him in estate or command he cajolled and flattered, so that they became, in a manner, dependant on him, while he had use for their service; but that over, he seldome gave himself the trouble of returning their favours by suitable expressions of gratitude; yet, still he had that address and dexterity in his conduct, as to reingage them as often as he had occasion, and still the blame of any ill-useage they mett with was artfully charged upon themselves. By this means he ordinarly made as good a figure in the field as some of his neightbours that had double his command and following. With his supperiors and equalls he lived in constant emulation and jealousey, and governed his Clan with the authority and state of ane independent Prince. The leaders and captains of tribes he suppressed and keept doun, and seldome allowed any of them the honour of being admitted into his councill; but with his commons he affected great popularity; and, what was odd, he was not only negligent of his person, but even of the economy

of his house and family, and the reason he gave for it was, that he loved not to deviate from the customes of his predecessors. Though he was ingaged in every attempt that was made for the restoration of King James and his family, yet he managed matters so that he lossed nothing in the event. The concerts and ingagements he entered into with his neightbours, in the issue of any undertaking for the common good, he observed onely in so far as suited with his oun particular interest, but still he had the address to make them bear the blame while he carried the profite and honour. To conclude, he was brave, loyall, and wounderfully sagacious and long-sighted; and was possessed of a great many shineing qualitys, blended with a few vices, which, like patches on a beautifull face, seemed to give the greater eclat to his character. Mr Philips represents him att the general rendezvouse in the following manner:

"First from the North, Glengary trades the plain,
And brought three hundered with him in his train.
All feirce and brave, in bloom of youth they shine,
And from the mighty Donald boast their line.
In triple folds, which many colours grace,
Short tartan vests their manly sides imbrace:
Loose from their shoulders hangs the various plade
Girt round their loyns, in artfull foldings laid;
A helmet guards their head, their limbs and thighs,
Naked, are open to the wind and skyes.

On a proud steed the Chief himself appears,
His brawny arm his dreaded fauchion bears,
A large broad belt from his right shoulder shines
In polished plate, and to the left declines.
O'er armour, which refulgent mettals grace;
And flowing vest shone bright with golden lace.

A hundered more, his brother Allan led,
In belted plaids, and tartan doublets clad,

With rullions on their feet, and from afar
Dreadfull in all the implements of war;
While to their thighs their threatning broad-swords hung,
And belts and shields with brazen trappings rung."

Glengary differed in oppinion from the officers whom I have mentioned. He represented that though the Highland army had suffered much by the want of provisions, and from the fatigue they had been putt to, yet these hardships did not affect them in the same manner that they commonly did souldiers who are bred in ane easyer and more plentifull course of life: That the Generall would find them both ready and able to engage, and perhaps defeat ane equal number of the enemy's best troops: That as nothing delighted them more then hardy and adventurous exploits, so it was his oppinion that they should march immediatly, and endeavour to prevent the enemy's getting through the pass: That, if they could be there in time, it would be ane easy matter to stop their advanceing into the country till they were able to give them battle: That, supposeing them already clear of the Pass, yet to waite there till they were attacked by M'Kay would so discourage their men, that they would soon grow of no value, and lose that spirite and resolution which commonly accompanys agressors: And that, finally, his advice was allways to keep the army in sight of the enemy, and to post them in such strong ground, as might not onely be a defence to them from sudden attacks, but also enable them to make quick salleys, and engage partys of them in brisk skirmishes, as often as opportunity offered.

The Chiefs in generall subscribed to this oppinion; but Dundee, haveing observed that Locheill was all this while silent, refused to declare his oppinion till the other gave his: "For," said he, "he has not onely done great things himself, but has had so much experience, that he cannot miss to make a right judgement of the matter, and, therefore, his shall determine mine!" Locheill answered, that his Lordship much overrated the small things he had done, for they were but little tumultuous sallys and skirmishes, without any order or conduct, and that the success he had was rather owing to the intrepidity and courage of his men than to any thing in himself; and that, therefore, no example

could be taken from them. That the reason he had not spoke was, that he had already determined himself to submitt to his Lordship's conduct, which was so exactly adapted to the genius of the Highlanders, that he needed no advice; but that, since he had commanded him to give his oppinion, it was in one word—"To fight immediatly,—for our men," said he, "are in heart; they are so far from being afraid of their enemy, that they are eager and keen to engage them, least they escape their hands, as they have so often done. Though we have few men, they are good, and I can venture to assure your Lordship that not one of them will faill yow. It is better to fight att the disadvantage of even one to three, than to delay it till M'Kay's dragoons and cavalry have time to joyn him. To pretend to stop them in the Pass is a vain project, for they have undoubtedly gott through it ere now, and to march up to them and not immediatly to fight, is to expose ourselves to the want of provisions, seeing we can spare no men for forageing; besides, we will discover that, even in our oun oppinion, we are unequall to the enemy, which would be of dangerous consequence among Highlanders. If the enemy shall be allowed time to march up and offer to attack us, and we retreat, it will be still worse. If your Lordship thinks proper to delay fighting, and wait the arrivall of our men, my oppinion is, that we immediatly retreat again to the mountains and meet them; for I will not promise upon the event, if we are not the aggressors. But be assured, my Lord, that if once we are fairly engaged, we will either lose our army, or carry a compleat victorey. Our men love allways to be in action. Your Lordship never heard them complain either of hunger or fatigue while they were in chace of their enemy, which att all times were equall to us in number. Employ them in hasty and desperat enterprizes, and yow will oblige them; and I have still observed, that when I fought under the greatest disadvantage of numbers, I had still the compleatest victoreys. Let us take this occasion to shew our zeall and courage in the cause of our King and countrey, and that we dare to attack ane army of Fanaticks and Rebells att the odds of near two to one. Their great superiority in number will give a necessary reputation to our victorey; and not only fright them from meddling with a people conducted

by such a General, and animated by such a cause, but it will incourage the whole kingdome to declare in our favours."

Ane advice so hardy and resolute could not miss to please the generous Dundee. His looks seemed to brighten with ane air of delight and satisfaction all the while Locheill was a-speaking. He told his councill that they had heard his sentiments from the mouth of a person who had formed his judgement upon infallible proofs drawn from a long experience, and ane intimate acquaintance with the persons and subject he spoke of. Not one in the companey offering to contradict their General, it was unanimously agreed to fight.

When the news of this vigorous resolution spread through the army, nothing was heard but acclamations of joy, which exceedingly pleased their gallant General; but, before the councill broke up, Locheill begged to be heard for a few words: "My Lord," said he, "I have just now declared, in presence of this honourable company, that I was resolved to give ane implicite obedience to all your Lordship's commands; but, I humbly beg leave, in name of these gentlemen, to give the word of command for this one time. It is the voice of your councill, and their orders are, that yow doe not engage personally. Your Lordship's bussiness is to have ane eye on all parts, and to issue out your commands as yow shall think proper; it is ours to execute them with prompitude and courage. On your Lordship depends the fate not onely of this little brave army, but also of our King and country. If your Lordship deny us this reasonable demand, for my oun part, I declare that neither I, nor any I am concerned in, shall draw a sword on this important occasion, whatever construction shall be putt upon the matter!"

Locheill was seconded in this by the whole councill; but Dundee begged leave to be heard in his turn: "Gentlemen," said he, "as I am absolutely convinced, and have had repeated proofs of your zeale for the King's service, and of your affection to me, as his General and your friend, so I am fully sensible that my engageing personaly this day may be of some loss if I shall chance to be killed; but I beg leave of yow, however, to allow me to give one '*Shear-darg*' (that is, one harvest-day's work) to the King, my master, that I may have ane opportunity of con-

vincing the brave Clans that I can hazard my life in that service as freely as the meanest of them. Ye know their temper, Gentlemen, and if they doe not think I have personal courage enough, they will not esteem me hereafter, nor obey my commands with cheerfulness. Allow me this single favour, and I here promise, upon my honour, never again to risk my person while I have that of commanding you."

The Councill, finding him inflexible, broke up, and the army marched directly towards the Pass of Killychranky, which M'Kay had gott clear of some short time before. Att the mouth of the Pass, there is a large plain which extends itself along the banks of the river, on the one side; and on the other rises a rugged, uneven, but not very high mountain.

M'Kay still drew up his troops, as they issued out of that narrow defile, on the forsaid plain; and that he might be capable to flank Dundee on both sides, in case of ane attack; he ordered his battle all in one line, without any reserves, and drew up his field-batallions three men deep onely, which made a very long front; for, as I have said already, his army consisted of no less than 3500 foot, and two troops of horse. Haveing thus formed his lines, he commanded his troops, that were much fatigued with the quick march they had been obliged to make, to prevent being stopt in the Pass, to sitt down upon the ground in the same order they stood, that they might be somewhat refreshed.

Dundee keept the higher ground, and when his advanced guards came in view of the plain, they could discover no enemy; but still as they came nearer they observed them to start to their feet, regiment by regiment, and waite the attack in the order above described. But Dundee never halted till he was within a musquet-shot of them, and posted his army upon the brow of the hill opposite to them; whence, having observed distinctly their order, he was necessitated to change the disposition of his battle, and inlarge his intervals, that he might not be too much out-winged. But before he could effect this, the enemy began to play upon him with some field-peices they had brought with them for the seige they intended, and then their whole army fired upon them in platoons, which run along from line to line for the whole time Dundee

took up in disposing of his troops ; which he performed in the following order :—

Sir John M'Lean, then a youth of about eighteen years of age, with whose character I shall hereafter take ane opportunity to entertain the reader, was posted with his battalion on the right ; on his left the Irishmen I have mentioned under the command of Collonell Pearson ; nixt them the Tutor of Clanranald, with his battalion. Glengary, with his men, were placed nixt to Clanranald's ; the few horses he had were posted in the centre, and consisted of Low-country gentlemen, and some remains of Dundee's old troop, not exceeding fourty in all, and these very lean and ill-keept. Nixt them was Locheill ; and Sir Donald's battalion on the left of all. Though there were great intervals betwixt the battalions, and a large void space left in the centre, yet Dundee could not possibly streatch his line so as to equall that of the enemy ; and, wanting men to fill up the voyd in the centre, Locheill, who was posted nixt the horse, was not onely obliged to fight M'Kay's own regiment, which stood directly opposite to him, but also had his flank exposed to the fire of Leven's battalion, which they had not men to engage, whereby he thereafter suffered much. But, what was hardest of all, he had none of his Clan with him but 240, and even 60 of these were sent as Dundee's advanced guard, to take possession of a house from which he justly apprehended the enemy might gall them, if they putt men into it. But there was no helping the matter. Each Clan, whither small or great, had a regiment assigned them, and that, too, by Locheil's own advice, who attended the Generall while he was makeing his disposition. The designe was to keep up the spirite of emulation in poynt of bravery ; for, as the Highlanders putt the highest value upon the honour of their familys or Clans, and the renoun and glory acquired by military actions, so the emulation between Clan and Clan inspires them with a certain generous contempt of danger, gives vigour to their hands, and keeness to their courage.

The afternoon was well advanced before Dundee had gott his army formed into the order I have described. The continual fire of the enemy

from the lower ground covered them, by a thick cloud of smoake, from the view of the Highlanders, whereof severals dropping from time to time, and many being wounded, they grew impatient for action. But the sun then shineing full in their faces, the Generall would not allow them to engage till it was nearer its decline.

Locheill, as well to divert as to incourage them, fell upon this stratagem. He commanded his men, who, as I have said, were posted in the centre, to make a great shout, which being seconded by those who stood on their right and left, ran quickly through the whole army, and was returned by some of the enemy; but the noise of the cannon and musquets, with the prodigious echoeing of the adjacent hills and rocks, in which there are several caverns and hollow places, made the Highlanders fancy that their shouts were much brisker and louder than that of the enemy, and Locheill cryed out, "Gentlemen, take courage. The day is our own. I am the oldest commander in the army, and have allways observed something ominous and fatall in such a dead, hollow, and feeble noise as the enemy made in their shouting. Ours was brisk, lively, and strong, and shews that we have courage, vigour, and strength. Theirs was low, lifeless, and dead, and prognosticates that they are all doomed to dye by our hands this very night!" Though this circumstance may appear triffleing to ane inadvertant reader, yet it is not to be imagined how quickly these words spread through the army, and how wounderfully they were incouraged and animated by them.

The sun being near its close, Dundee gave orders for the attack, and commanded, that so soon as the M'Leans began to move from the right, that the whole body should, att the same instant of time, advance upon the enemy. It is incredible with what intrepidity the Highlanders endured the enemy's fire; and though it grew more terrible upon their nearer approach, yet they, with a wounderfull resolution, keept up their own, as they were commanded, till they came up to their very bosoms, and, then poureing it in upon them all att once, like one great clap of thounder, they threw away their guns, and fell in pell-mell among the thickest of them with their broad-swords. After this the noise seemed hushed;

and the fire ceaseing on both sides, nothing was heard for some few moments but the sullen and hollow clashes of broad-swords, with the dismall groans and crys of dyeing and wounded men.

Dundee himself was in the centre with the horse, which were then commanded by Sir William Wallace of Craigie. The gallant Earl of Dumfermline had formerly that charge, but that very morning, Sir William having presented a commission from King James, that noble Earl calmly resigned, much to the dissatisfaction of Dundee; and from this small incident, it is affirmed, flowed the ruine and disappointment of that undertaking. When they had advanced to the foot of the hill, on which they were drawn up, Sir William Wallace, either his courage faileing him, or some unknown accident interposeing, instead of marching forward after his Generall, ordered the horse to wheele about to the left, which not onely occasioned a halt, but putt them into confusion. Dundee, in the mean time, intent upon the action, and carryed on by the impetuosity of his courage, advanced towards the enemy's horse, which were posted about their artillery in the centre, without observeing what passed behind, untill he was just entering into the smoak. The brave Earl of Dumfermline, and sixteen gentlemen more, not regarding the unaccountable orders of their Collonell, followed their Generall, and observed him, as he was entering into the smoake, turn his horse towards the right, and raiseing himself upon his stirrops, make signes by waveing his hatt over his head for the rest to come up. The enemy's horse made but little resistance. They were routed and warmly pursued by those few gentlemen; and as to Wallace and those with him, they did not appear till after the action was over.

The Highlanders had ane absolute and compleat victorey. The pursute was so warm that few of the enemy escaped; nor was it cheap bought to the victors, for they lossed very near a third of their number, which did not ammount fully to two thousand men before they engaged.

It was formerly observed that Dundee was so far out-numbered by M'Kay, that he was obliged to streatch his front as near eqnall to his enemy's as possibly he could, in order to prevent being flanked; but

this he could not effectuat so; but still there was a large voyd space in the centre, opposite to which the battalion commanded by the Earl of Leven was posted; and which, there being none to attack, remained still enteare: besides, on M'Kay's right there was another battalion conducted by Collonell Hastings that outstreatched Dundee's lines so far on the left, that there was onely half of it assaulted and cutt off, and the other stood still on the field of battle. The sixteen gentlemen I have mentioned returning from the pursute of the enemy's horse, were much surprised to find these men standing entire, and upon the very ground where they were first posted. The brave Earl of Dumfermling proposed to gather about fifty or sixty Highlanders, whom they observed straggleing through the field of battle looking after their dead friends, and to attack them. Though none of the companey could speak Gaulick, (as the Highlanders call their language,) yet Mr Drummond of Balhaldys, being son-in-law to Locheill, and haveing some acquaintance among them, made a shift to get so many of them together, that they adventured to march against Hastings' half battalion. But that of Leven's, which stood att some distance, observeing this motion, advanced to their assistance; and the Highlanders, whereof many were rather followers of the army than souldiers refuseing to engage, the gentlemen were obliged to retreat, and on their way discovered the body of their noble General, who was just breathing out his last. The fatall shott, that occasioned his death, was about two hand's-breadth within his armour, on the lower part of his left side; from which the gentlemen concluded, that he had received it while he raised himself upon his stirrops, and streatched his body in order to hasten up his horse, as I have related. Observeing still some small remains of life, they halted about the body to carry it off, but Leven's battalion advanceing in the interim, fired smartly upon them, and wownded Mr Haliburton of Pitcurr so mortally that he dyed within two days thereafter. He was a gentleman of that resolution that he dissembled it for the time, and retired with the rest. He was Chief of the name, and of considerable note in the county of Angus, where he joyned my Lord Dundee on his first setting out. Mr Philips gives us the following account of him:—

" Brave Haliburton here the hero joyn'd,
Tho' great his limbs, yet greater was his mind:
To noblest sires his antient line he ow'd,
And lived conspicuous 'mongst the great and good.
His Prince he loved; but to the Belgick foe,
Implacable did his resentment glow.
Allong a troop of hardy youth he led,
And 'bove them all conspicuous by the head,
Dundee he followed, to the Royall aid."

When the Earl of Dunfermline, who had then his horse shott under him, and the other gentlemen, had gott themselves out of the reatch of the enemy's shott, and poured out a flood of tears on the hearse of their great General, they discovering some Highlanders that had returned from the pursute, again employed Mr Drummond to gather as many of them as he could, in order to attack these men. He having prevailed with about sixty of them to follow him, met, as he returned, some of the Chiefs, with a few of their men, who likeways joyned him; and, marching all in a body towards the enemy, they found them possessed of a gentleman's house that was near the field of battle, from which it was in vain to attempt to dislodge them. About the middle of the night, the army returned from the pursute, but the enemy took the opportunity of retreating in the dark, and as they were marching through the Pass, the Atholl men, whom I have mentioned, keeping still in a body, attacked them, killed some, and made all the rest prisoners; so that of the troops that M'Kay brought with him the sixth man did not escape. No less than eighteen hundred of them were computed to fall upon the field of battle.

When day returned, the Highlanders went and took a view of the field of battle, where the dreadfull effects of their fury appeared in many horrible figures. The enemy lay in heaps allmost in the order they were posted; but so disfigured with wounds, and so hashed and mangled, that even the victors could not look upon the amazeing proofs of their own agility and strength without surprise and horrour. Many had their heads di-

vided into two halves by one blow ; others had their sculls cutt off above the eares by a back-strock, like a night-cap. Their thick buffe-belts were not sufficient to defend their shoulders from such deep gashes as allmost disclosed their entrails. Several picks, small swords, and the like weapons, were cutt quite through, and some that had scull-capes had them so beat into their brains that they died upon the spott.

The Highlanders, as I have said, payed dear enough for their victory ; but it was remarked that few or none of them were killed after they drew their swords, and that the greatest part of them fell within a few paces of their enemy when they received the last fire, before they themselves discharged ; after which, their loss was inconsiderable.

Locheill lost in this action one hundred and twenty of his men, which was just one half of his number, and was occasioned by a furious fire that he received in the flank from Leven's battallion, which, as the reader has been told, had no enemy to engage. His post was against M'Kay's own regiment, which he routed and destroyed in a manner that few of them ever returned to their colours. So keen was he that day, that he spoke to his men one by one, and tooke their several engagements either to conquer or dye. He was then past the sixty-third year of his age, but strong, healthfull, and vigorous. His men obeyed him so readily, when he commanded them to march, that he was not able to keep pace with them ; but, leaveing them to the protection of God, he satt down by the way, and deliberatly pulling off his shoes that pinched him, had the agility to gett up with them just as they drew their swords.

The Highlanders had been so fatigued by that day's work and the preceeding marches, that after the pursute was over, they were unwilling to return to the field of battle till they were somewhat recovered by a little rest, and it was with no small difficulty that Locheill prevailed, in the end, with their Chiefs to lead them back. By this it appears how unjustly the Earl of Balcarrass (though otherways ane impartial author) has charged them with looseing the fruits of so important a victory by their unseasonable avarice. His Lordship alleadges, that so soone as they came among the enemy's baggage, they stopt and allowed M'Kay and several other eminent persons to escape, while they were employed

in riffleing it; and that if the troops that keept the field had beheaved as they ought to have done, they might have fallen upon them, and changed the fate of the day. But as I have had occasion to talk with severall gentlemen, and others who lived in that neightbourhood, and who knew the most minute circumstances of that glorious action, and likeways with several of the Chiefs, besides Low-country gentlemen and others who were eye-witnesses to all that passed, so from their concurring accounts of it, I can assure my readers, that the Highlanders pursued so far, that they could not distinguish friends from foes before they gave over, though the rout began about the setting of the sun: That they were so excessively fatigued, that they inclined to rest themselves there during the dead of the night: That it was midnight ere they returned, which gave opportunity to these troops to attempt their escape, as I have related: And that they neither saw the enemy's baggage nor the field of battle, till the sun was some hours up nixt morning. And what is a further proof of that Lord's mistake—it is universally agreed, that the Earl of Leven, though not attacked, and generally all those that had horses, fled so early, that some of them rode thirty miles that night; and M'Kay, as soon as he saw his troops broken, went off with a few horses in such time, that, notwithstanding of the badness of the road, he sleept that night in the Castle of Weems in Raynoch; so that, unless several partys had been posted before hand in proper places, it was impossible to prevent their escape.

That noble author is likeways guilty of another mistake, in chargeing the loss of the brave Viscount of Dundee upon the cowardice of Sir Donald Macdonald's men. I have already informed the reader of the circumstances of that tragical event, from the relation of severalls of the sixteen gentlemen who accompanyed him in the last moments of his life; and shall now give ane account of the behaviour of these Macdonalds, from as good authority.

Sir Donald and his battalion were posted on the left of the Highland army, and had the misfortune to have their flank exposed to the fire of Hastings' regiment; and Sir Donald, observing several of his men to fall, and that there were some houses and dykes opportunely scituated to

cover his men from the fire, while the army was a forming. He commanded them to sitt down, in which posture they continued till orders were given to engage. But the aid-du-camp who carried these orders not haveing courage enough to pass through the intervall betwixt them and Locheil's men, where the enemy's fire was very hott, he called out to such of them as were nearest, that the Generall wanted them, and they not understanding the orders, and their being entangled among dykes and houses, occasioned some confusion, but they quickly recovered themselves, and charged with so much bravery that they cutt off the regiment that was assigned them. Now, if the reader will reflect on the extent of Dundee's front, occasioned by the great intervals that were left betwen the battalions, and that Sir Donald was posted on the extremity of the left wing, he will not imagine it probable that Dundee, who charged in the centre, would make signs, att so great a distance, for Sir Donald to advance, who could not possibly perceive him. The truth seems to be, that the Earle of Balcarrass, who then was a prisoner of state in the Castle of Edinburgh, hearing that Dundee was shott as he was makeing signs for his people to come up, and not haveing ane opportunity of conversing with any of them I have mentioned, mistook the matter, and charged the misfortune of his death on the wrong persons; which I am convinced he would have rectifyed, if he had given us another edition of his Memoirs.

But the true reason why this victory became ineffectuall was the unseasonable death of the great Dundee. He seemed formed by Heaven for great undertakeings, and was in ane eminent degree possessed of all those qualitys that accomplish the gentleman, the statesman, and the souldier. He was descended from the antient and noble family of Montrose, a family fruitfull of heroes, and illustrious by the great persons that have adorned it. The gentleman I speak of had ane education suitable to his birth and genius. After he had finished the course of his studys att home, he travelled into France for his further improvement; and haveing a strong inclination to acquire some knowledge in the military art, he served several years as a volunteer in the French army, under

the famous Marishall Turenne. But the Prince of Orange being a nephew, and afterwards a son-in-law, of the Royall Family of Great Brittain, he passed over into Holland, where he soon recommended himself to that Prince, who complimented him with a coronet's command in his horse-guards.

He was then ane Esquire, under the tittle of John Graham of Claverhouse, but the vivacity of his parts, and the delicacy and justness of his understanding and judgement, joyned with a certain vigour of mind and activity of body, distinguished him in such a manner from all others of his rank, that though he lived in a superior character, yet he acquired the love and esteem of all his equalls, as well as of those who had the advantage of him in dignity and estate.

In this station he had ane opportunity of adding to his reputation by performing a very remarkable service to the Prince of Orange, then his master; for being, in the year 1674, dismounted by the enemy att the battle of St Nuffe, and in the greatest danger of being either killed or made a prisoner, the gallant Mr Graham rescued him out of their hands, mounted him upon his own horse, and carryed him safely off. Mr Philips, among others of his actions att that time, takes notice of this vigorous exploit, and introduces him complaining of the injustice he received att that Court, in words to this purpose:

> "When the feirce Gaule thro' Belgian stanks yow fled,
> Fainting, alone, and destitute of aid,
> While the proud victor urg'd your doubtfull fate,
> And your tir'd courser sunk beneath your weight—
> Did I not mount yow on my vigorous steed,
> And save your person by his fatal speed?
> For life and freedome then by me restor'd,
> I'm thus rewarded by my Belgick Lord.
> Ingratefull Prince!"———

The Prince, in reward of this service, gave him a Captain's Commission, and promised him the first regiment that should fall in the way;

and some years thereafter, there happning a vacancy in one of the Scotch regiments, he stood candidate for it, not onely upon the assurance of that promise, but also of the letters he procured from King Charles and the Duke of York, recommending him to the Prince, in very strong terms. But, notwithstanding of all this, the Prince preferred Mr Collier, a son of the Earl of Portmore, to the regiment. The Prince then resided att his Palace of the Loo; and Captain Grahame, who was absent while this intrigue was carrying on, chanceing to meet Mr Collier in the Pallace Court, expostulated the matter in very harsh terms, and gave him some blows with his cane. The Prince either saw or was soon informed of what passed, and ordering Captain Grahame, who had been seized by the officer of the guards, to be brought before him, he asked him how he dared to strick any person within the verge of his Palace? The Captain answered, that he was indeed in the wrong, since it was more his Highness his business to have resented that quarrel than his; because Mr Collier had less injured him in dissappointing him of the regiment, than he had done his Highness in making him breck his word. Then replyed the Prince, in ane angry tone, "I make yow full reparation, for I bestow on yow what is more valuable than a regiment, when I give yow your right arm!" The Captain subjoyned, that since his Highness had the goodness to give him his liberty, he resolved to employ himself elsewhere, for he would not serve a Prince longer that had brock his word.

The Captain having thus thrown up his commission, was prepareing in haste for his voyage, when a messenger arrived from the Prince with two hundred guineas for the horse on which he had saved his life. The Captain sent the horse, but ordered the gold to be distributed among the grooms of the Prince's stables. It is said, however, that his Highness had the generosity to wryte to the King and the Duke, recommending him as a fine gentleman, and a brave officer, fitt for any office, civil or military.

He was well received upon his arrivall in England, and soon thereafter preferred by the King to the command of one of the Independent troops of horse, that were raised in the year 1677, to suppress the tumultuous Assemblys of the Fanaticks in the West of Scotland. He acquitted

himself so well of this commission, that about the end of King Charles his reign, he was admitted into the Privy Councill, and created a Peer by the tittle of Lord Viscount of Dundee.

He was much in favour with King James during his short reign, and when that unfortunate Prince was obliged to leave England, Mr Philips says, that he gave the charge of transporting the Queen and Prince after him to France to the Lord Dundee, "which was," continues that author, "the highest testimony of his favour and confidence."

Upon the meeting of the Convention of Estates, great numbers of fanaticks crouded into Edinburgh, under pretence of guarding it; and they having formed severall designes against the lives of all those that opposed the violent proceedings of the Convention, his Lordship and many others quitted the city in the manner I have mentioned. No sooner were his intentions of heading the Royalists divulged abroad, than a spirit of loyalty diffused itself through the nation. The people were att first lulled asleep with a notion, that the Prince of Orange designed nothing further by his invasion, than to force King James to dismiss his Popish Counsellors, as he had declared in his manifesto; for they could not be persuaded that the King's own nephew, and son-in-law, would ever contrive his ruine. But as soon as their eyes were opened, they sent assurances to the Lord Dundee that they were all ready to joyn him; and had that brave man outlived that glorious victory which his death rendered fatall to the party, the world would have been soon convinced how far the proceedings of the new patriots suited with the inclinations of the people.

Great were the preparations that were makeing for his reception in all parts. His vigour and conduct in chaceing M'Kay and his army from place to place, with inferior numbers, was the general talk and wonder of the kingdom. He knew so well to adapt himself to the humours and inclinations of the people whom he commanded, that there was a general harmony and agreement among all the officers of his little army, and so great was the confidence they reposed in his conduct, that they resigned themselves intirely to his pleasure, without searching into his designes.

Though the Highlanders are in general a high-spirited and proud

people, and of ane unruly and stubborn temper, yet the authority he had over them was surprizing, even to those who were best accquanted with them. To give the reader ane instance of it: It was his usewall custome to steall out privatly and visite his out-guards and sentrys in person, in order to keep them to exact duty; and though he never punished delinquents, yet he used such artfull methods, as soon made them very observant of his orders; by which means he was never catched napping. One night, in one of these salleys, he chanced to meet two fellows, each with a mutton on his back, returning to the camp. Though the great wants they suffered rendered such pilfery in a manner necessary, yet he reprimanded them in very sharp words, and threatned them with death if they committed such cryms for the future. One of the fellows, mistakeing Dundee, who was not much distinguished by his dress, for one of his troopers, was so provoked with his threatnings, that he satt down upon his knees, putt his gun to his eye, and would have infallibly shott him dead, had not his comerade cryed to him to "Hold!" for "it was the General." The poor fellow was so struck with the horrour of his crime, that he dropt down dead upon the spott.

So quick was he in all his marches, that M'Kay, his antagonist, used to say, that all intelligence with respect to him was useless; for he often had him beating up his quarters, when he believed him to be att fifty or sixty miles distance from him.

Though he was exceedingly forward, yet he was far from being rash; and his conduct att the battle of Killiecranky shows how deliberatly and wisely he took his measures; and the onely step that he is to be blamed in was his too much eagerness in exposeing his person; but that he did with a view of gaining a reputation among the Highlanders, whom he humoured in all things.

He advised with Locheill on every occasion, and always followed his oppinion; and so much did he confide in his sufficiencey that he often declared that he was the fittest person in the kingdome to command that army. They both loved fighting and adventurous actions, and were never known to differ in any one poynt; and Dundee said often that

he could never have managed ane army so different in customes, humour, and discipline from those with whom he was bred, if it had not been for the lessons he daily had from him.—While he was att Edinglassy, chanceing to inquire att Locheill, "How the Highlanders would behave in case of a sudden allarm?" "Yow had best make a tryall, my Lord," answered Locheill, "and I believe yow will find, upon the proof, that they will, in every shape, answer the character I have given of them!" His Lordship, approveing the advice, commanded my Lord Dunfermline to steall with as much privacy as possible with the horse to a certain riseing ground that lay att some distance, and after lurking behind it for sometime, to draw them up in a line, one man deep, and to appear suddenly on the ridge of it, in as formidable a manner as he could contrive. All being executed according to orders, his Lordship was wounderfully pleased to see his men, upon the news of the enemy's advance, fly to their several colours with all the allacrity and promptitude imaginable, cryeing out to be immediatly led against them, and not to allow the cowardly dogs again to escape.

His Lordship was so nice in point of honour, and so true to his word, that he never was known for once to breck it. From this exactness it was that he once lossed the opportunity of ane easy victory over M'Kay, in Strathspey, by dismissing Captain Forbess; who, meeting the two troopers sent by the Lord Kilsyth, not onely discovered that intelligence, but the neightbourhood of the Highland army, as I have formerly related. This is the onely reall error chargeable on his conduct, while he commanded in this war. But this is the more excuseable that it proceeded from a principle of religion, whereof he was strictly observant; for, besides family-worship, performed regularly evening and morning in his house, he retired to his closet att certain hours, and employed himself in that duty. This I affirm upon the testimony of severals that lived in his neightbourhood in Edinburgh, where his office of Privy Counsellour often obliged him to be; and, particularly, from a Presbyterian lady who lived long in the storey or house immediatly below his Lordship's, and who was otherways so rigid in her opinions, that she could not believe

a good thing of any person of his persuasion, till his conduct rectified her mistake, and even had such influence as to prevaill with her in the end to marry a gentleman who was a high-flyeing Churchman.

His Lordship continued the same course in the army; and though somewhat warm, upon occasions, in his temper, yet he never was heard to swear. He had made a considerable progress in the Mathematicks, especially in those parts of it that related to his military capacity; and there was no part of the Belles Lettres which he had not studyed with great care and exactness. He was much master in the epistolary way of writeing; for he not onely expressed himself with great ease and plaineness, but argued well, and had a great art in giving his thoughts in few words. And this chiefly appears when he had occasion to wryte to such gentlemen as he knew M'Kay had been tampering with; where he frequently not onely answers all that was then pled in favours of the Revolution, but also lays before them the duty and obedience they owed to King James, as their naturall Sovereign, with great perspicuity and strength of argument, in the compass of a small page or two.

He was, in his private life, rather parsimonious than profuse; and observed ane exact economy in his family. But in the King's service he was liberal and generous to every person but himself; and freely bestowed his own money in buying provisions to his army: And, to sum up his character in two words, he was a good christian, ane indulgent husband, ane accomplished gentleman, ane honest statesman, and a brave souldier—and, as he had few equalls among his countrymen in these first qualitys, so he had no supperior in the last.

His memory is celebrated by some of the best Foreign, as well as British writers. But leaveing the reader to peruse these att leisure, I shall here intertain him with a few lines written in elegant Latine by the famous Dr Archibald Pitcairn,* that great favourite of Apollo and the Muses, and beautifully translated by Mr Dryden, the greatest genius of his age :

* See the original in the Appendix.

"O last and best of Scots, who didst maintain
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reigne,
New people fill the land now thow art gone,
New gods the temples, and new kings the throne!
Scotland and thow didst in each other live,
Thow wouldst not her, nor could she thee survive.
Farewell, who dyeing didst support the State,
And couldst not fall but with thy country's fate."

Besides the death of Pitcur, which I have already related, the Laird of Largo, a young gentleman of about twenty-fours years of age, of great hopes, and Chieftane of a branch of the M'Donalds of Kyntyre, was also killed in the heat of the action, with several gentlemen of the same family. There likeways fell att the same time a brother of Glengary's, five near relations of Sir Donald M'Donald, several gentlemen of the M'Leans, and a multitude of others whom it were tedious to recount.

But the death of Gilbert Ramsay was attended with such remarkable circumstances that they deserve to be related. He was a young gentleman bred to the law, which, haveing studyed att Leyden with great application, he, about the same time that the King left England, past his tryalls, and was admitted Advocate with the general applause of that learned Faculty. The confusions that followed made him quitt the bar, where it was expected he would soone become eminent, and joyn my Lord Dundee, whom he attended in quality of a volunteer, with great cheerfullness. After that General had made his disposition, and while they waited his orders to engage, the gallant Earl of Dunfermline calling for some spirits, and, filling a dram with his own hand, drank "A health to the King, and success to his arms." And when it came in course to Mr Ramsay, he took the glass in his hand, and addressing himself to his Lordship, "I assure you, my Lord," said he, "that this day we shall have a glorious victory over the King's enemys; but I shall not have the pleasure of seeing it." And, haveing thus spoke, he pledged the health, and drank his glass.

The gentlemen who were nixt him observeing ane unusewal flush and disorder in his countenance, which they had not formerly taken notice of, inquired seriously into the reasons of his expressing himself so. He answered frankly, that he had a dream that morning, immediately before he awaked, wherein not onely the action itself, with every thing that was to happen remarkable about it, but allso the order of the troops on both sides was fully represented to him; and that there was not a person of any note to fall there but he saw their wounds bleeding: That every circumstance that had hitherto happened was a confirmation of what he saw before in his sleep; and that he was now fully convinced that the remaining part would come to pass in the same manner. The Lord Dunfermline, and the gentlemen on both hands, joyned their endeavours to prevaill with him not to engage, but he was obstinate, and said that he was determined to aequitt himself of a duty which he thought indispensibly incumbent on him, seeing his Majesty was deserted by those who ought by their offices to have served him; adding, that he could meet death without the least apprehension, and that he had related his dream meerly on account of its novelty.—Soon after this, the army began to move, and Mr Ramsay, being one of these sixteen that followed my Lord Dundee, fell by Mr Drummond's right hand, where he was first posted.

I have been the more particular in discribing this action in all its circumstances, because I have observed that none who have wrote of these times have, either out of partiality, or for want of information, been pleased to favour the world with a full and genuine relation of it.

But the greatest proof of the importance of it is the general consternation wherewith all those of the contrary party were seized, upon the first news of M'Kay's defeat. The Duke of Hamilton, Commissioner for the Parliament, which then satt att Edinburgh, and the rest of the Ministry, were struck with such a panick, that some of them were for retireing into England; others into the Western Shires of Scotland, where all the people, almost to a man, befriended them; nor knew they whither to abandone the Government, or to stay a few days untill they

saw what use my Lord Dundee would make of his victory. They knew the rapidity of his motions, and were convinced that he would allow them no time to deliberat. On this account, it was debated, whether such of the nobility and gentry as were confyned for adhering to their old master, should be immediately sett att liberty or more closely shutt up; and though the last was determined on, yet the greatest Revolutioners among them made private and frequent visits to these prisoners, excuseing what was past, from a fatall necessity of the times, which obliged them to give a seeming complyance, but protesting that they allways wished well to King James, as they should soon have occasion to show, when my Lord Dundee advanced.

But the news of that great man's death quickly dissipated all their fears, and the short-lived loyalty of these politicians shortly thereafter was changed into ane affected biggotry, and ill-nature against all who differed from them in opinion; so true it was, what Dr Pitcairn said of him in the forementioned verses:

> "*Te moriente, novos accepit Scotia cives,*
> *Accepitque novos, te moriente, deos!*"—
>
> "New people fill the land, now thou art gone,
> New gods the temples, and new kings the throne!"

The nixt morning after the battle, the Highland army had more the air of the shattered remains of broken troops than of conquerours, for here it was litterally true, that

> "The vanquished triumphed, and the victors mourned."

The death of their brave Generall, and the loss of so many of their friends, were inexhaustible fountains of grief and sorrow. They closed the last scene of this mournfull tragedy in obsequys of their lamented Generall and of the other Gentlemen who fell with him, and interred them in the church of Blair of Atholl with a real funeral solemnity, there not being present one single person who did not participate in the general affliction.

General Canon, who was the oldest officer there, took upon him the command of that melancholy army; and the third day after the battle, which was the same on which the rendezvouze had been appointed by the Lord Dundee, they were joyned by five hundred of Locheil's men, conducted by his son John and his cousine Glendissery, two hundred of the Stewarts of Appine, a party of M'Gregors, commanded by M'Grigor of Roroe, two hundred and fifty of the M'Phersons, as many of the M'Donalds of the Breas of Lochaber and Glencoe, and the whole men of Atholl; and haveing marched the day following to the Brea of Mar, they were likeways joyned by the people of that country, and by the Farquarsons, Frazers, with the Gordons of Strathdown and Glenlivet; so that the army amounted now to five thousand brave men. Besides these, the Northern Shires were all in arms, and the greatest part of the Low-country gentry, through all parts of the kingdome, were ready to joyn them, and expected their advance with impatience; and it was generally computed that, before they arrived at the Borders of England, they would be forty thousand men strong at least; so general was the inclination at that time to have restored King James. But so soon as Dundee's death was generally known, the scene changed, and all those mighty preparations, and that universall spirit of Jacobitism, vanished into nothing.

The first thing the new General attempted miscarried, for want of conduct; for, haveing detached a party of Struan Robertson's men, and some of those he had from the Brea of Mar, to Perth, with orders to seize a considerable quantity of meale and other provisions which the enemy had left there, they loytered so long after they had executed their orders, that M'Kay had intelligence of their being in those parts, and of the bad order they keept; and marching against them with a strong body of horse and dragoons, surprized and defeated them. It is true their loss did not exceed thirty men, and that they made good their retreat to the mountains, notwithstanding they were warmly pursued by a regiment of horse for many miles; yet it not onely exposed their want of conduct, but also showed that they were not invincible, as their late be-

haviour att the battle of Kilychranky made many people fondly believe they were.

M'Kay had so well accquanted himself with the abilitys and characters of their general officers, that he now boldly adventured to march against them with inferior numbers, though he had often fled from Dundee when he was att least equally strong; and advanced within a few miles of them. The neightbourhood of the enemy makeing it necessary for them to advise how they were to proceed, a councill of war was held in the old castle of Auchindown, where the first thing that fell under debate was, whither the Low-country officers, who acted as volunteers without any command, had a tittle to sitt and vote? And a second question was started, whether or not they should fight M'Kay, whose strength consisted chiefly in horse, immediatly; or, if they should, in consequence of the commands they there received from King James, march to Kintyre and the Western Shires in order to suppress them?

Locheill and the Chiefs argued strenuously against these officers haveing votes in their councill, for these reasons: 1st, They were unacquainted with the Highland discipline, customes, and manner of fighting, which, differing widely from what they were bred to among regular troops, might make their votes of pernicious consequence: 2dly, As it was unreasonable that simple Captains and subalterns, who brought no accessions of strength to the army but their own persons, should have equall powers with those that actually had regiments, or att least very considerable bodys of good men; so these officers being supernumerary to the Highland Chiefs, it was in their power to carry matters as they pleased, in prejudice of those who had the actual command.—However, they agreed that the advice of these gentlemen should be demanded before any question of importance should be determined. As to the second poynt, Locheill, who took upon him to speak first, as being the oldest Chief and of most experience of any there, was of opinion, that, seeing they acted by King James his authority, his commands were not to be disputed; but that seeing his Majesty could not att that distance rightly understand the present scituation of his affairs here, he declared that they

ought immediately to fight M'Kay, and then march Westward: That he saw no reason to delay fighting; they had the marrow of the Highlands about them, flushed with victory, and eager for a new opportunity of exerting their valour, and of revenging the death of their late brave General, and of so many of their friends: That if they expected the Northern Shires and Lowland gentry to joyn them, they must doe something to incourage them, and to establish the reputation of their new General: That though the enemy had more horse, yet the late cowardly flight of those att Kilychranky had removed all the fears that the Highlanders had formerly of them; and that, for his part, he was so little apprehensive of them, that he was willing to fight all they had with his own Clan, assisted by the three hundred horse that had of late joyned them; and, in a word, if they lossed this opportunity, when M'Kay had no more than equall numbers, and began a cowardly retreat, when it was in their power to serve the King effectually, and gain honour to themselves, they would not onely loose their friends, their reputation, and their army, which would dayly diminish, but they would even become the jest and diversion of the kingdome.

Notwithstanding of what was said by Locheill, who was vigorously supported by the other Chiefs, it was carried in the councill of war, not onely that the Lowland officers should vote, but that they should march through Aberdeenshire, and over the Carnamount, without fighting the enemy. It will be hard to assign any other reason for this ridiculous march, excepting that of increasing their army by the conjunction of their Northern friends; but the event showed that they mistook their measures, for this retreat proved so fatall to their affairs, that the army became dispirited, and dayly diminished, when they saw every thing goe cross to their inclinations, and M'Kay's reputation encreased so, that the Government was in no further apprehensions of danger from that quarter.

Locheill, seeing the King's orders neglected, and that nothing was to be expected but fatigue from their ill-concerted measures, retired to Lochaber, in order to repose himself; and left the command of his men to his son, who continued with them dureing that inglorious campaign.

Sir Donald [M'Donald of Sleat] and several others followed the same example, and left the care of their men to their nearest relations.

General Canon's army was now so reduced, that he was obliged to betake himself to the mountains; and so marched round the skirts of the Highlands, while M'Kay keept the plains below, every day in sight of each other, exchangeing bravadoes to fight, but the one durst as little goe up to the high-ground, as the other descend to the low; so that they were in mutual fear of each other.

Thus they continued for the space of a month, till Canon had intelligence that the Cameronian regiment, so called from their following one Cameron, ane extravagant Fanatick Preacher, amounting to 1200 men, and commanded by Lieutenant-Collonel Cleland, had taken possession of Dunkell, with a designe to destroy the country of Atholl. To prevent this, he resolved to dislodge them, and might have easily effected it, had he used a little policy, and sent a small party of five or six hundred men to have trained them out of the town, where they were strongly fortifyed, and keept the army att a short distance, as he could easily have done, without the enemy's getting any intelligence, the people thereabouts being all his friends. But he, without regard to good policy, marched his army, which was now dwindled away to about three thousand men, in a full body to their trenches, beat the enemy's out-guards, and entering the town in the very face of their fire, without any thing to cover them, brock through all opposition, and rushed in upon such of them as were posted in the lesser houses, where they putt all they found to the sword without any mercy. Never was there, on any occasion, more resolution and less conduct shown than in this; and so surprizeing was their boldness, that they stood naked in the open streets exposed to the enemy's fire, and killed them in the windows, till they cleared the town of them, and drove them into the Marquess of Athol's house, which, being a strong place, they were not to be beaten from that post so easily. So little did their General reflect on what he was to doe, that though he had several cannons and field-pieces which had been taken from the enemy, yet when he came to apply them, he had not so many balls as he had guns. However, the bravery of his men, in a great mea-

sure, supplyed his defect in conduct; and had he had patience to have stood to the attack, he would infallibly have carryed his poynt, and covered his weakness by the happy effects of a bold temerity; for, besides the loss of their two commanding officers, Cleland and Fullartoun, both brave men, who, with many others, were killed; notwithstanding of the strength of their post, their ammunition was all spent to a shott, and they upon the very poynt of surrendering att discretion, when the General commanded his men, even against their own inclinations, to retire.

Many of the Highlanders were wounded, but not above eighteen or twenty of them killed, which looked like a miracle; but the true reason was, that the enemy's shott somewhat resembled thunder, in this, that it had more noise than effect; for, observeing that the Highlanders putt their guns to their eye, and that they seldome mist their mark, they had not courage to expose themselves, but shott att random, whereby they did little execution. There were above three hundred of them killed, and a great many more wounded; but the greatest part of this slaughter was of those who were slain att first in the little and less tenible houses of the toun.

By this weak conduct, Canon suffered so extreamly in his reputation, and his men were so dispirited by his misimploying their valour, that, the winter now approaching, they dropt away, and he in the end obliged to retreat to Lochaber, where the remainder were dismissed, excepting the few Irishmen whom I have mentioned, and the Lowland officers, who were dispersed into such quarters as the country afforded. Nor did the Low-country gentlemen entertain, after this, the least hopes of success, unless they gott a General that was capable to conduct them. Several of them had proceeded so far, that they knew not how to retreat; and Mr Drummond of Balhaldys, who, from the beginning of the war, had keept close with them, haveing stole privately, after the affair of Dunkell, into his oun country, was, by a Letter from the Councill of the 20th December, thereafter commanded to attend their pleasure again[st] the 14th of the nixt month; which, in common prudence, obliged him and many others to make their submissions by accepting of

the benifite of the indemnity, till King James his affairs should be better conducted, and in a more promiseing posture.

I have already mentioned the arivall of General Buchan from Ireland. He brought with him some provisions for the army, and Letters for the Chiefs from King James. That to Locheill bears date the last day of November 1689, and contains, in substance, a gracious accknowledgement of his and the other Chiefs their zeal and bravery in his service, and in their successfull endeavours to advance his interest; for which he returns them his hearty thanks, and expects that they will goe on in the same manner. He desires him not to be discouraged att the charges he was putt to on that account, seeing the happy posture of affairs, both att home and abroad, would not onely soon enable him to repay all, but likeways to distinguish him by particular marks of his royall favour: He says that he was immediatly to send over the Earl of Seaforth to head his friends and followers, and promises to send the Duke of Berwick with considerable forces to their assistance as soon as the season would permitt: He assures him of full protection in religion, laws, and libertys; and recommends unity among themselves, and a submission to their superior officers.

King James was then very strong in Ireland, and was att that time determined, by the advice of his friends and Councill, to sett on foot a considerable army in Scotland; and on arrivall of the French fleet, which he dayly expected, to send over the Duke of Berwick with 8000 Irish troops to command in chief. All this, and a great many more particulars, appears from the confession of one Mr Alexander Strachan, who was dispatched with letters and instructions to the Highlanders a few days after Buchan; but being seized att Glasgow, and carryed prisoner to Edinburgh, he confessed all that he knew of King James his affairs, and delivered up what papers he had about him to the Councill, upon assurance of life and fortune. He likeways carried letters from the Earl of Seaforth to the Countess of Errole, and some others; who were immediately confined, and very ill used.

This winter all was pretty quiet in the Highlands ; and King William, in order to have affairs settled in Scotland before he went to Ireland, offered the Highlanders a cessation of arms, whereof the Lord Tarbat had the management; but he, for I know not what reasons, not inclineing to appear openly in that affair, persuaded the councill, that the Earl of Breadalbane, being not onely well accquanted with, but also nearly related to most of the Chiefs, was much properer than he for that negotiation, and prevailed with them to issue out their orders for him to attend their pleasure. The Earl shifted them for some time, upon several pretexts; but being in the end obliged to appear, the councill communicated King William's orders, and offered him L.5000 sterling, with several other rewards, to bring about the cessation : But he, being determined not to meddle without consent of King James his friends att Edinburgh, and they judgeing it highly detrimentall to that Prince's interest, generously refused to concern himself; but these gentlemen, haveing more maturely reflected on the posture of affairs in the Highlands, which was then in [a] very naked and defenceless condition, and considered that the proposed cessation of arms would allow them full time to provide for their security, and to receive the powerfull succours that were then promised them from Ireland, they changed their mind, and desired Breadalbane to offer his service.

The councill gladely accepted of the offer, but they haveing intimated his former refusall to King William, could conclude nothing without new orders ; and desired the Earl to waite on that King, and settle matters with him before he went over to Ireland. But King William was gone before the Earl's arrivall, which brought the project to nothing.

The Earl of Seaforth arrived early this spring in the Highlands, but brought nothing with him butt Letters and Commissions to the Chiefs. That the reader may have a fuller view of the circumstances of affairs att that time, I shall here insert King James his Letter to Locheill, which was directed thus :

"TO OUR TRUSTY AND WELL-BELOVED SIR EWEN CAMERON OF LOCHEILL.

"JAMES R.

"The supplys yow desire in yours of the 14th of February from Inverlochy, yow may find, by what we have already writt, we were intent upon sending yow; for without them we neither did expect that our service there could much advance, or our friends in the Lowlands be encouraged to joyn yow. But as the transportation of horse is matter of difficulty, so we could come to no certain resolution till the arrival of the French fleet, which is with us. Now, we shall take all necessary measures, and loose as little time as we can in executing them; and must, in the interim, depend upon yow to keep our people there in heart; for we know the power and interest yow have with them, and that yow can, by a long experience, show them how cheerfully to suffer in a royall cause. How much yow have laboured in ours; how freely yow have spent your substance, and generously exposed your oun and people's lives for it, we are fully informed of, and do give our royall word that we are not onely resolved to repair your losses, but also to increase your fortune, which in our present circumstances we doe not question to be soon able to effect; for we have daily instances of a continueing Providence over us and our affairs. All your possessions, we are satisfyed, are now more imployed for the publick good than your private advantage. We have therefore sent yow the inclosed order about the purchass yow have made from the Lord Balcarrass; and so we bid yow heartily farewell. Given att our Court att Dubline Castle, the 31st day of March 1690, and in the sixth year of our reign."

The Chiefs conveened upon the arrivall of the Earl of Seaforth, and along with Generals Buchan and Canon, Colonel Brown, and the other officers I have often mentioned, held a grand councill, in order to concert how they were to proceed in the following campaign. But they were generally so enraged att finding themselves dissappointed of the relief they expected of men, arms, and other provisions of war, that many

of them proposed to offer their submissions to King William, upon terms which they were then very sure to obtain: "For how is it possible," said they, "for us to resist ane established Government to which all Great Britain has already submitted? Our ruined country will be soon made the seat of a bloody war; against which we have neither men, arms, nor provisions, to defend ourselves; our people are already reduced to the last extremity of poverty and want; there are two regiments of men to be garrisoned in the heart of the country, ready on all occasions to destroy the poor inhabitants; and the Government can place as many more garrisons through the several parts of it as they please, without our being able to hinder it. In a word, we can expect nothing but the finishing of our ruine, and the rendering ourselves absolutely incapable to serve King James, when opportunity shall offer, if we make further resistance; whereas, by a prudent submission, we shall at least save the small remains that is still left us."

Many of them still proceeded further, and alleadged that King James had given them up as a prey to their enraged enemys, by abandoning them in the naked state they were in: That it was downright folly and madness to allow themselves to be led like so many sacrifices to the slaughter, in the service of a Prince who fed them with empty promises, which it was probable he never would be able, and perhaps never inclineable, to perform; whereof the preceeding reign had furnished them with many melancholy instances: That there was nothing easyer than to waft over some thousands of the Irish, which were, in truth, no better than raw, undisciplined militia, in their own country, though they proved excellent souldiers in this: And that since the King did wilfully, after all the remonstrances that had been made to him and his Ministers, neglect his own affairs, it was now high time for them to look to themselves, and to observe the first principles of nature, which was self-preservation.

Such were the sentiments of many there; but still the brave Sir Donald Macdonald of Slate, Sir John M'Lean of Dowart, and the young Captain of Clanrannald, continued firm to their former resolutions; and Locheill, whose age, wisdome, and experience, gave him a great as-

cendant over their inclinations, and often determined their debates, delivered himself to the following purpose:—That the several speeches he had heard were not onely surprizeing, but even shokeing to him: That some there seemed to have renounced their duty and alledgeance, as well as the respect they owed to the majesty of their Sovereign: That he was loath so much as to suspect that any of them had been tampering with the enemy, but he was almost convinced that they had been deceived by the subtility of pretended friends: That whatever might be the sentiments of men who were acted by no other principles but that of interest, he was certain that it was his duty, as a subject who had sworn alledgiance to King James, to serve and obey him as long as he was capable: That as he was the lawfull successor of the most antient and illustrious race of Monarchs in the world, so he could not transfer his alledgiance without a direct violation of the laws of God and man: That though a successfull rebellion might change the names of things, yet it could never alter the nature of truth and justice, nor transform a violent intrusion to that of a lawfull possession; and that, for his part, he was resolved that the dictates of his conscience should be the rule of his actions: That though the case were doubtfull, yet, as a Highland Chief, he thought himself bound to King James by the strongest tyes of gratitude: That they all knew what that Prince had done, or att least was resolved to doe, if ever it pleased God to restore him to the throne of his ancestors. "Nor are the last expressions of his royall goodness," continued he, "ever to be forgott, which he has been graciously pleased to transmitt to us by the Earl of Seaforth. Our countrymen are the onely persons he is to trust with the military part of the Government of this kingdome; we are to have his pay as souldiers, with ane indulgence either to live att home, with our commands, or where it shall be most agreeable; and if any of us have capacitys for offices in the Civil Government, we have his royall promise for it that we shall be preferred, according to our merits, to posts of honour and profite; our children are to be educated under his royall eye, our country to be enriched and our familys aggrandized; so that, though our duty did not oblige us, the natural tyes of gratitude and generosity ought to prevaill over all other

considerations, to make us endeavour in some measure to requit his royall favours."

He nixt proceeded to answer the objections against continuing the war, and showed them, that "though they had suffered some difficultys, yet they were not equall to those which their late brave General, the Lord Dundee, had born with so much cheerfullness: That they had received some support from his Majesty, but that great man never had gott any; and that such examples as he ought to be the illustrious objects of their imitation: That he himself, while yet a stripling, had, in the service of King Charles, suffered more than any of them did att present: That though he was offered posts and preferments, and all the other temptations whereby subtile and designeing men ordinarly debauch people from their duty, yet he would not consent to lay down his arms while he thought there was one man in the King's dominions that owned his authority, and that, after all, he obtained such articles of peace as more resembled a treaty between two Princes of equall strength, than one betwixt a formidable tyrant and a private gentleman that had none but a few friends of his own family to support him: That if they resolved to save their familys, it must not be by a shamefull abandoning their distressed master, but by a close union among themselves, and a firm resolution to bear up against all adversitys: That they might assure themselves the Government had no favour for them, and that they would grant no terms that were honourable unless they were forced to it; but that then it was ridiculous to speak of it while the King was att the head of a great army, and was supported by the most powerfull King in Europe, except they were determined to preferr their ease to their honour, and show themselves to be the most contemptible cowards alive: That though the scituation of affairs might have delayed the promised succours, yet they might assure themselves that his Majesty would make good his royall word; and that, as they were subjects, it was their duty to attend his pleasure, and not to pretend to give laws, nor to stand upon conditions. For my own part, gentlemen," continued he, "I am resolved to be in my duty while I am able; and though I am now ane old man, weakened by fatigue, and worn out by continuall trouble, yet I

am determined to spend the remainder of my life after my old manner, among mountains and caves, rather than give up my conscience and honour by a submission, lett the terms be never so inviteing, untill I have my master's permission to do it; and no argument, or view of interest or safety, shall prevaill with me to change this resolution, whatever may be the event."

After this discourse, which was delivered with great warmth and zeale, none present had the assurance to speake any more of peace. It was unanimously agreed, that untill the season of the year was further advanced, and the seed thrown into the ground, before they made their general rendezvouze, Major-General Buchan, who was now to have the command, should march with a detatchment of twelve hundred men towards the borders of the Lowlands, and invite such as were inclined to joyn him, and to amuse the enemy and fatigue their troops by beating up their quarters, and allarming them with sudden and unexpected incursions.

None of the Chiefs attended this party, which was ready about the middle of Aprile, and marched towards Straspey. That country is plain, and Sir Thomas Livingstoun, who commanded in M'Kay's absence, was in their neightbourhood with seventeen troops of dragoons, nine hundred of Grant's men, and three regiments of foot; and though Buchan had timely information, and was advised by his councill to march to the woods of Glenlochy, where they could not be attacked but under great disadvantage, yet he would not hearken to this advice, but the next day, which was the first of May 1690, marched to Cromdale, and quartered his men in the neightbouring villages. He, however, sent two hundred of his best men, under the command of two officers, Grant and Brody, to guard the fords of the Spey, and they were so well posted that they might have stopt the enemy in the crossing that great river, till Buchan and his party were in a posture of defence; but they were as negligent as their Generall, and allowed Sir Thomas, with his whole body, to cross the river and surprize the Highlanders in their beds. There were about one hundred of them killed in the first hurry and confusion; but as they soon recovered themselves, they formed into

partys, made head against the enemy, and fought with that desperat resolution in their shirts, that Sir Thomas was glade to allow them to retreat without attempting to pursue them.

Though the loss on both sides was pretty equall, yet the ill conduct of General Buchan so discouraged the Lowland gentlemen, that not a man of them thought fitt to joyn with him; and even some of his own party, such as M'Donald of Largo and M'Alaster of Loup, finding every thing run cross to their opinions, thought it their safest course to submitt, which they did on the 16th of June thereafter.

Though the Grants generally followed their Chief, yet the Laird of Glenmoristoun, a considerable gentleman of that name, sided with the Highlanders, and with a party of one hundred and fifty men continued with them till the conduct of their Generals took away all hopes of success. The enemy was so enraged against him that they burnt his own seat to the ground, plundered his people, and made such horrible devastations that the poor gentleman was obliged to offer some proposals of submissions. The councill did thereupon send orders to the forenamed Sir Thomas Livingstoune, commander att Inverness, as he is designed in the said order, to grant him and the Laird of Straglass a safeconduct, in order to a treaty; but discharged him to conclude anything till he acquainted them. However, the government was so anxious to diminish that party, that all their demands were granted; but the particulars doe not appear from the records of the Privy Councill, which are my principall guides in this and the subsequent parts of these Memoirs.

Notwithstanding of the forementioned disaster, the Highland Chiefs dispatched General Canon with a party of six hundred foot and one hundred horse towards the South, which frighted the Ministers of State in a surprizeing manner; for they not onely sent ane express to General M'Kay, then in Ireland, to return home with all hast to suppress the Highlanders, but posted four thousand five hundred of the choise of the West-country militia, with some regiments of horse, in the places most exposed, and ordered all the rest of their disciplined troops towards the North to cover those countrys. General Canon hovered long on the Braes of Perthshire, and falling down suddenly into the

Low-country, he passed the fords of Forth, surprized a party of dragoons commanded by the Lord Cardross, killed some, and chased the rest into the parks of Stirling.

Att the same time, General Buchan, with a party of the Clans, marched towards Aberdeenshire, where, encountering with a strong body of horse and dragoons, commanded by the Master of Forbess and Colonel Jackson, he resolved to attack them, and, what may seem strange, his defeat att Cromdale added to his resolution ; for, haveing observed with what boldness and address his men had attacked Livingstoun's dragoons, and stopt them in their career of victory, he found that they were no more a terror to them, and resolved to make use of this opportunity in order to make a second essay of their courage in this kind of engagement. The same reason that encouraged him intimidated the enemy ; for, though att first they appeared as if they designed to fight, yet, changeing their minds of a sudden, they wheeled about and gallopt away as fast as whip and spur could drive their horses, and haveing reatched Aberdeen, they allarmed the town with the frightfull cry that the Highlanders were att hand. But Buchan had neither strength nor materials fitt for attacking the town, though no less was expected, and the walls planted with warlick engines as if they had been immediately to be beseiged.

These excursions keept the Government in a continual fright, which was much augmented by the news of three or four hundred horse, all gentlemen of the county of Lennox, their haveing joyned Canon ; who, after he had hovered for some time about Menteith and the countrys adjacent, marched Northward, and joyned General Buchan.

Such was the scituation of King James his affairs in Scotland, when the news of his being defeated att the river of Boyn arrived. This action in a manner determined the fate of that war ; and as the conduct of King James his Generals was very weak, so that of King William was bold and successful. The Irish behaved as they ordinarly doe in their own country, that is, they gave way upon the first appearance of the enemy. The 7000 French auxiliarys performed nothing memorable, though they afterwards gave King William some trouble, before

he could reduce that kingdome to a totall submission. In a word, the issue of this famous battle opened King James his eyes, and made him sensible of the errour he had committed in not following the Viscount of Dundee's advice, which was to have come over with his army to Scotland in person, or otherways to have sent over such a number of the Irish as, in conjunction with the clans, would have formed ane army of twenty thousand men, which his Lordship thought sufficient, as affairs were then scituated, to have reduced all Brittain to his obedience. The few that were sent over with Generall Canon, though raw, undisciplined, half-starved, and armless, were not inferior to the clans in courage. They fought att Kilychranky the second or third day after their joyning Dundee's army, defeated ane intear battalion of disciplined troops, and on all occasions thereafter behaved with the same resolution; which shews of what service ane army of them might have been in any part of Brittain.

King William, haveing observed Generall M'Kay's gallantry and conduct at the Boyn, thanked him for his good service after the battle was over; but added, that he was much surprised how he came to show so much valour and conduct there, and so little of either att Kilychranky, where he was shamefully defeated by a handfull of rude undisciplined militia. To which M'Kay answered, that he was sorry his Majesty should have any occasion to suspect his courage; but that, however, he might, by way of justification, adventure to say, that, if that rude undisciplined handfull of militia that fought against him att Killychranky, had been posted upon the banks of the Boyn under the same officers, his Majesty would have found difficulty to have passed the river that day.

To give a character of this Generall, whom we shall not have much occasion hereafter to mention, he bears that of being a very generous enemy, a good officer, and very zealous in the service of his master. It appears by many of his letters still extant, that he was no scholar, and that he either was, or politically appeared to be, infected with the silly cant and mean notions of Religion that generally prevailed among those of his faction. He railed against King James in terms very unsuitable

to the politeness of a gentleman, and extolled King William for qualitys that debased his character, and diminished his reall worth. He talked of him, always, not as one that had the libertys of Europe att heart, but as if he had assumed the zeal and biggotry of Calvine and Knox, and invaded England, and wrested the scepter from his unfortunate father-in-law, on purpose to establish Presbitery in Scotland. Now, as most of the gentlemen to whom he wrote were of the Church party, he ought to have made use of arguments more adapted to their tempers and characters. With respect to the different tittles of the two Kings, he mustered up all the fictions that were then politicaly contrived to gull the rabble, as arguments sufficient to make them declare in favours of King William, and to convince them that King James had forfeited his right to the crown. He insisted on his being a Papist himself, his favouring of popery, and his abandoning the Government, and the like, but had not the address to show them upon what principles, religious or politicall, they could, as subjects and Christians, renounce their alledgiance to the one, and transferr it to the other.

But as such matters seem not to have been his talent, he made a better figure in his military character, for, after the death of Dundee, he succeeded in all his enterprizes, and undoubtedly performed very great services to King William; but while he had that Generall to deale with, he was chased from place to place, and was perpetually on the retreat, and though he had ane army equall, and sometimes superior to the enemy, yet he had much adoe to keep up the character of his party.

He was, as I have said, a very generous enemy; and, however he differed in his politicks and principles from the Highlanders, yet he always commended their valour and loyalty to their old master, and justly acknowledged the brave Dundee, their Generall, to be one of the best officers, as well as the most accomplished gentleman of his time.

After his defeat att Killychranky, when he saw his army intearly broken and dispersed, he was in such a consternation that for some moments he remained, as it were, stupid and undetermined what to doe; but being afraid of falling into the enemy's hands, he made off with whip and spur, and never halted untill he arrived at the Laird of Weems his house

in Apnadow, and the next night he came to Drummond Castle. The day following he was joyned by about two hundred of his broken troops, but those in such a miserable plight, and so gashed and deformed with their wounds, that they moved the compassion of their greatest enemys. So great, however, was the fright of these wretches, that they travelled all that night, some of them bound with ropes, or supported by their comerades on their horses, and others trailing their limbs after them, and crying out with the smart of their wounds. In this dolorous state they arrived att Stirling, where they could hardly fancy themselves secure; and their General often said that he made no doubt but Dundee was either killed or dangerously wounded, since his quarters were not beat up that morning att Drummond.

When he had ane account of his death, by a letter from the Laird of Weems, he said to the bystanders, that he now looked upon his defeat to be of greater consequence, and more beneficial to his master's interest, than the most absolute victory could have been: "For," said he, "the Highlanders will allow none of their own Chiefs to command as General; and they have no other officer that either can conduct them, or that so much as knows how to make proper use of so important a victory." So confirmed was he in this oppinion, that, haveing gott what troops he could together, he marched against Generall Canon, who was much stronger than he, and challenged him to fight in the manner I have related. Soon after the battle of the Boyn, being sent for by the Scots Privy Councill, he returned, and about the end of September thereafter, he marched Northward with ane army of twenty battalions and squadrons, and planted a garrison of two compleat regiments att Inverlochy, under the command of Collonell Sir John Hill, who had been formerly Governour there about the end of Cromwell's Usurpation.

Though the Highlanders had not forces sufficient to oppose so strong a body of troops, yet there was still a party on foot, which gave the Ministers of State some uneasiness. As they affected to appear fond of their new form of Government and King, so they were exceedingly anxious to have both fully established by a peace. They were daily allarmed with the news of some sudden incursion, and of the surprise and defeat of

partys of the troops. They were no less vexed to see a party still on foot, that acted by and acknowledged no other authority but that of their late master; and they even thought it might be of dangerous consequence, in case the King of France inclined to invade Brittain in favours of King James. Besides, they were fond to have it believed that they had proceeded all along, and formed their new schemes, upon the inclinations of the people, which so great a part of the kingdome still standing out plainly contradicted.

Upon these considerations, they resolved to bring about a treaty att any rate; and sent severall persons, who were in friendship with both partys, to sound the minds of the Chiefs. These gentlemen, though inclinable enough to end the miseries of their people, who were intirely cutt off from all intercourse with the rest of the kingdome, by ane honourable peace, yet they would not hearken to any proposalls without permission from King James. The Ministers att first thought themselves affronted by so bold a demand; but the Chiefs continueing obstinate, they found there was a politicall necessity of complying. They, therefore, upon the 8th of September 1690, issued out a peremptory order to the Earls of Breadalbane and Menteath to attend their pleasure; and haveing deliberatly advised with these Lords, they fixt upon the first as the most proper for the negotiation.

The Marquess of Atholl and Earl of Argile were also equally ambitious of that honour. They imagined that besides the service done to the Government, it would be no small proof of their power and interest with the Highland Chiefs, who then made a considerable noise in the world. These Lords courted them by all manner of caresses and promises; but Locheill, who bore a great sway in all their councills, prevailed with them to declare in favours of Breadalbane, who was not onely his intimat friend, but his very near relation. Glengary allone stood out, and joyned interest with the Marquess of Atholl, whom he befriended with so warm a zeale that he shutt his eyes to the common interest, and did no small prejudice to his country.

The Earl of Breadalbane, haveing obtained full powers from King Wil-

liam, had severall meetings with the Chiefs att a place called Achallader, upon the confines of that Earl's country, where they agreed upon the following Articles, as the conditions on which they were willing to lay down their arms :

" 1st, As a preliminary Article, they demanded full power and liberty to send such a person as they should make choise of to the Court of St Germans upon the Government's charges, in order to lay the state of their affairs before King James, and to obtain his permission and warrand to enter into that treaty.

" 2dly, This Article being granted, they nixt demanded the sum of L.20,000 sterling, to refund them of the great expences and losses they had sustained by the war. In order to obtain this, they represented that the people were so impoverished, that it would be impossible to keep them from makeing depredations on their Low-country neightbours, unless they were enabled to stay att home, and to apply themselves to agriculture, and the improvement of their country.

" 3dly, That King William should, att the publick charges, free them from all manner of vassalage and dependence on the great men their neightbours, as King James was to have done, for which they produced his Letters ; that being thereby freed from the tyranny and oppression of these superiours, they might hav their sole dependence on the crown, and be enabled effectually to suppress thieveing, and imploy their people in the service of their country.

" 4thly, That King James his officers might have full liberty either to remain att home, or to goe into foreign service, as they pleased, and that they, and all others engaged in his interest, should not onely have passports for that purpose, but also be carryed to the port of Havre de Grace, att the charges of the Government.

" 5thly, That they be all allowed to weare and use their arms, as they were formerly wont to doe ; and that no other oaths should be putt to them excepting simply that of the alleadgeance ; and that they should have a full and free indemnity for all crimes whatsoever committed by them, or any of them, dureing the wars ; and that, in the meantime, there should be cessation of arms."

Such were the Articles and terms of surrender that the Chiefs agreed upon, and delivered to the Earl of Breadalbane, in order to be obtained from King William, who was then in Flanders; others being in Ireland imployed in reduceing the towns that still keept out, under French garrisons, for King James.

But about the end of September, and before this treaty was sett on foot, the Earl of Argile was ordered by the councill to march with his own regiment to Stirling; and if there was no descent, as was then threatned, to proceed, in conjunction with that commanded by the Earl of Glencairn, to Argileshire, in order to reduce the Isles. Major Ferguson had been sent thither in the spring preceeding, with a detached party of the troops, besides six hundred of Argile's Highlanders, under the command of Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, who was also appointed Governour of Dunstaffnage. Argile continued for many months in these parts, but we hear of nothing performed by him, except the reduceing of the Castle of Isleand-Stalker, keept out by Stewart of Ardsheall for King James, and surrendered upon very honourable terms, upon the 9th of October following.

In this capitulation, there was one very singular article, whereby Argile obliged himself to free Ardsheall of a debt of 6000 merks Scots, owing by him to the Earl of Perth, as a part of the price of the lands of Glencoan formerly fewed from the said Earl; but it does not appear from the records out of which I have extracted the above and following transactions, which of the two Earls was to be the loser by this bargain.

The Ministers seem to have bent the whole force of their policy on the reduction of the Highlands. The Privy Councill Records are full of their orders, acts, and resolutions, all tending to the same poynt. They had formerly pronounced ane act of sequestration against Locheill and the other Chiefs, and now, on the 20th November, in order to putt it in execution, they recommended it to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, to give a Commission to Colonel Hill, Governour of Fort-William, (as they now began to name the garrison of Inverlochy,) to uplift these gentlemen's rents. Though this commission was issued out,

and the Governour not bound thereby to find surety for the monys, as is ordinary in such factorys, yet he durst not execute it, but remained confined within the walls of his Fort till the treaty of peace was concluded.

In the mean time, in order to awe the Highlanders into a complyance, Sir Thomas Livingston had orders, by express commands from King William, to march and encamp his army (amounting then to 10,000 men, whereof a third part were horse and dragoons) in some convenient place on the borders of the Highlands, but not to committ any acts of hostility till further orders. While Sir Thomas was on his march, he was countermanded by the Duke of Leinster, then General of the Scots forces, who intimated to him that he acted by the particular order and direction of Queen Mary. Sir Thomas, being next in command under the Duke, not onely obeyed, but sent orders to the Earl of Argile, who was then in Mull with considerable forces, to superceed all hostilitys, and to observe a cessation of arms. The very nixt day Sir Thomas was surprized by a letter from the Master of Stair, Secretary of State, then in Flanders with King William, by whose commands it was writt, challengeing him for not marching and encamping as he was ordered by his Majesty. The matter being layed before the Lords of the Privy Councill, they wrote to Queen Mary to know her pleasure; and she returned answer, that the Earl of Breadalbane's negociation with the Highlanders was done by his Majesty's command; that a cessation of arms was a part of that treaty, and that the Duke of Linster's orders to Sir Thomas was by her direction.

It happned some time before, that Stewart of Appine, haveing detained a souldier belonging to the garrison of Inverlochy as his prisoner, he was surprized and taken with some others by that Governour, and sent by sea to Glasgow, by orders from the Privy Councill; who, haveing transmitted ane information thereof to the Queen, she generously commanded them to be sett att liberty.

King William was then employed in carrying on a bloody war against France, in conjunction with most of the other powers of Europe. He had use for all his troops, and being on that account exceedingly anxious

to get rid of the Highland war, the Earl of Breadalbane found a more easy complyance with all the conditions demanded by the Chiefs than he expected. The greatest demurr was made att granting the liberty of sending to King James, that haveing the appearance of continueing their alledgeance to that unfortunate Prince, even after a submission, which might be interpreted to be made by his authority. But that article beine att last consented to among the rest, Sir George Barclay, a brigadeir, and Major Duncan Meinzies, were, by King William's permission, dispatched by the Chiefs to the Court of St Germans, to lay the case before King James, and to know his pleasure.

In consequence of this, King William did, upon the 27th of August, by a long letter, inform his Councill of this negociation, and signifyed that as the vassalage and dependence of severals of the Highland Chiefs upon others in their neightbourhood, had occasioned many fends and differences among them, which obliged them to neglect the improveing and cultivating their country ; therefore, that he was graciously pleased not onely to pardon, indemnify, and restore all that had been in arms, who should take the oath of alledgeance before the first of January nixt, but was likewayes resolved to be att some charges to purchass the lands and superioritys which were the subjects of these debates and animositys att the full and just availl, whereby they might have their immediat and intire dependence on the Crown : That since none was to sustain any reall prejudice, he would take it as ane ill service done to him and the country if any concerned should, through obstinacy or frowardness, obstruct a settlement so advantageous to his service and the publick peace ; and that he expected from their Lordships the outmost application of his authority to render the designe effectuall. He then orders them to emitt a very ample and full Indemnity, without any other limitation or restriction, but that all who tooke the benefite of it should be obliged to take the oath of alledgeance to him and his Queen before the first of January 1692, in presence of their Lordships, or of the Sheriffs or their deputys of the respective shires where they lived ; and their clerks are ordered to transmitt lists of all them that took the benefite of it to the Councill ; and the obstinat are ordained to be prosecuted by the seve-

rity of law. He likeways orders another proclamation to be issued out against the clan M'Grigor, ordaining all heritors who have any of that name in their lands to give up lists of them to the clerks of the Privy Councill, and to find surety for them.

In this letter, there is a certain obscure and ambiguous passage, which seems to leave the souldiers att liberty to treat the Highlanders, after their submission, in the same manner as they might have done before that time: The words are—" That ye communicate our pleasure to the Governour of Inverlochy and other commanders, that they be exact and diligent in their several posts; but that they show now no more zeale against the Highlanders after their submission than they ever have done formerly, when these were in open rebellion."*

The Councill immediatly issued out these proclamations; and in their answer, which they sent upon the 29th of that month, take no notice of the first part of their King's Letter, but acquaint his Majesty with their obedience in emitting the proclamations and in communicating his pleasure to the Governour of Inverlochy, &c., in the terms of his said letter. But the words I have recited being somewhat unclear, may perhaps be otherways understood than was intended: They therefore humbly beg his Majesty's pleasure may be more particularly signified therein. They likeways represent that it is probable the Highlanders will take the liberty, after publication of the indemnity, to disperse themselves through the country, and repair to Edinburgh in the interval between that and the first of January, and take occasion to pervert the leiges from their duty, and influence them to their way; they therefore beg to know if he will allow them to pass up and down the country, or if they must keep themselves within their own bounds during that time: They likeways advise the garrisoning of several Castles in the Highlands, and conclude thus:—" We have sent likeways to the Master of Stair, Secretary of State, to be communicated to your Majesty, the copy of a paper relating to the Earl of Breadalbane's transactions with the High-

* *N.B.*—This is the first hint or insinuation of the designed massacre that soon followed.

landers, presented to the Duke of Hamilton, our President, by Sir Thomas Liveingston, which was given him by Major Forbess, as he entered in councill yesterday, who declared he had received the same from Collonell Hill, his Collonell; as also the Earl of Kintore presented us a paper much to the same purpose, which he declared was received by him from one who had it from Lieutenant-Collonell Gordon, nephew to Buchan, who commanded the rebells, as a copy of these articles sent him by his uncle; both which copys are attested by the Duke of Hamilton, our President. These papers, containing matters of high importance to your Majesty's Government, and peace and security of your good subjects, we thought fitt to transmitt the same to your Majesty, as being the duty of," &c.

King William did not think it proper to return ane answer to this letter, or, if he did, it is not to be found among the records of that time; but the consequences shew that he inclined that these words, in his letter, "that they show now no more zeale against the Highlanders, after their submission, than they have ever done formerly, when these were in open rebellion," should be explained in the literal meaning, which imports that they should be still used as enemys and rebells: For the barbarous massacre of Glencoe happened a few months thereafter; and it appears by a letter from the Councill, of the 9th December 1691, to the Lords Chief Justices of Ireland, with whom they keept a correspondence, that the forces were, immediatly after publication of the indemnity, ordered to march towards the Highlands to compell the chiefs to submitt; besides, there is ane order directed from their Lordships to the Earl of Argile, commanding him to march immediatly to the Castles of Dowart, Cairnburg, and others within his bounds, and to require them to be delivered up, under the severest penaltys of law; and though delivered up, if they within refused to take the oath of alledgiance, to imprison them, and prosecute them as traitors.

That the Highlanders were abused and cheated in the execution of the articles of their treaty with King William (who never performed any of them but three) plainly appears from this, that though by the preli-

minary article they were allowed to send to St Germans for King James his permission to lay doun their arms, yet the Indemnity that was issued out in consequence of that treaty, and King William's Letter to his Councill, which I have recited, and was the warrand upon which it proceeded, did not allow them time to waite the return of their commissioners, but circumscribed them to the first of January, without so much as mentioning it: And we see Argile's orders to treat the people of Mull in the manner just now recited, bears date two days after the publication, that being on the 29th, and the other on the 31st of August; whereby it is plain that King William meant no more in yielding to the conditions of that treaty but to amuze them, and to catch them in the snare which he (with so much art and policy) contrived to ruine them; but as it is to be presumed that some of his Ministers were lett into his Majesty's secret designs, so the sequel will further explain the matter, and shew that he did not mistake his measures.

The mistery in the passage of the Council's Letter to his Majesty relating to the Earl of Breadalbane, which I have inserted verbatim, falls nixt to be unriddled.—I have formerly mentioned the competition betwen the Marquess of Atholl and Earl of Breadalbane, with respect to their being employed in bringing about the treaty, and that Glengary not onely sided with the former, but stood obstinatly out against the general voice of the other Chiefs. When these two, whom I may call the Dunmoirie, since none else joyned them, found that Breadalbane carried the poynt, they resolved to imploy all their address and policy to render the treaty abortive, and to be revenged on the Earl, betwixt whom and the Marquess there were some old grudges.

The methods the Earl tooke to bring the Chiefs to his lure gave them a handle against him, and the contrivances they fell upon to bring about the other were drawn from the scituation of affairs, and the terms of the Indemnity. For the Earl, haveing observed that the offers made by the Earl of Argile and Marquess of Athole consisted of lands, money, or superioritys, and that they were rejected by the Chiefs, who scorned to sell themselves, because they [thus] brought no advantage to the common cause, which they were determined not to abandon, while there remained

any hopes of their King being restored, his Lordship resolved to manage the matter with more craft and subtility, and to insinuate himself into their favours by falling in with their tempers and sentiments.

With this view, he talkt to them of nothing but his loyalty to King James, praised those who had so gallantly supported his interest, and professed that as his inclinations were allways turned that way, so, though he had been obliged to show a little outward complaysance to King William, in order to save himself and his family from ruine, yet that he was determined to exert himself upon the first favourable opportunity in such a vigorous manner, that they and all the world should see that he knew the interest of his King and country.

Such, and many the like speeches he often repeated, as well in private as att their publick meetings. He was seconded by my Lord Tarbat, then Justice-Clerk, a person of profound penetration and subtility, who pretended secretly to favour the same interest and principles. Two such heads united could not well miss to succeed, especially when they had to doe with plain honest gentlemen, to whom they were so nearly related in blood, and with whom they keept up the countenance of a sincere friendship. In a word, they managed matters so artfully, that even Locheill himself believed them to be in earnest of the same principles and opinion with himself, (as there is still some probability they were,) which determined him absolutely in their favours ; and his interest carryed it with all the other Chiefs except Glengary.

When the Earl had brought matters to this poynt, he watched all opportunitys that favoured his designs, and finding their party dayly to diminish in strength and reputation by the bad conduct of their Generals, he prevailed with them to agree to a cessation of arms, and by degrees brought them to yield to the conditions which I have already sett down. But the Marquess of Athole and Laird of Glengary, haveing observed all Breadalbane's procedure with the exactest regard, they resolved to lay hold on his speeches and professions of loyalty to King James, and of his assurances to the Chiefs to be ready to joyn that interest with all his power on the first proper occasion, as the most effectuall means to ruine him with King William. Glengary carryed some of the Lowland Offi-

cers, and particularly General Buchan, who stayed in his house, to his interest. The greatest part of them being against entering into any treaty, because they had nothing to lose, and Glengary pretended to be of the same opinion. By their means it was, that the papers mentioned in the passage of the Council's Letter, already noticed, was dropt into their hands. Whether Breadalbane went so far with the Chiefs as to enter into a private treaty with them, and to subscribe the articles, or if he satisfyed them with verball promises and assurances, is what I cannot determine; but the paper sent to King William in the aforementioned Letter contains as follows:

PRIVATE ARTICLES.

"1st, If there be ane invasion from abroad, or a riseing of his Majesty's subjects in Brittain, then the agreement is null.

"2d, If his Majesty does not allso approve the agreement, it is allso null.

"3d, And to that purpose there is a passport to be granted to two gentlemen to acquaint the King therewith, in all haste.

"4th, That if the forces goe abroad, then we will rise.

"5th, That if King William and Queen Mary doe deny all or any of the Articles agreed on, then my Lord Breadalbane is to joyn us with 1000 men; which he promised to perform both on oath and honour."

It is plain, from the last words of the fifth Article, that the above have been gathered from his expressions;—and though it is probable that his Lordship expressed himself often in terms as plain, yet Glengary cannot be justifyed in makeing use of them in the manner he afterwards did, seeing he was of the party in whose favours they were made; and that being allways present, they were spoke in confidence and secrecy, which ought to have putt a seale upon his lips, and not used as tools to bring ruine upon the speaker, as they were afterwards likely to have done in 1695.

Haveing thus wrecked their malice upon the person, they att the same

time employed their outmost cunning and policy to render his negociations useless. They observed that the Chiefs were by the Indemnity circumscribed to the first of January, though they were positive not to take the benefite of it untill the return of their commissioners from King James. All they had to doe, in such a scituation, was to contrive means to get that time over, without their submitting in the terms prescribed. To effect this, they artfully raise rumours of a powerfull invasion soon to be made by the King of France in favours of King James. Many Letters are shown from pretended correspondents, abroad and att home, confirming these agreeable news, and often condescending on particulars that carryed ane air of probability. They contrive methods to impose upon others in the same manner, so that Locheill had many letters sent to him from different hands, who were all catched in the same snare, and really believed as they wrote, diswading him from entering into any measures with the Government.

That the reader may the better see into their management and policy, whereby they imposed upon many who were affected to that interest, though otherways not over credulous, I shall here insert one of these letters, which was directed to Locheill from one Charles Edwards, late Chaplain to the Viscount of Dundee, but it neither bears the date nor place from which it was wrote :

"Sir,—Your good and great friend commanded me to shew yow that Breadalbane designes to ruine King James his interest and all that belongs to him, particularly yourself. He entreats yow not to trust to his fair pretences, for his intentions are palpable and clear to all the world now. All the fair storys he told yow att Achalader against the Government were on purpose to deceive yow ; therefore, meddle no more with him, neither directly or indirectly, for there never was any thing that troubled the King more than the late cessation, which yow may expect to hear from himself very soon. Your friend desired me to shew yow that he expects yow will stand it out now as well as yow did in the late troubles, and not to make any manner of capitulation untill yow receive commands from your master : And, withall, he says yow can never receive

your master's countenance, friendship, or favour, if yow make any capitulation till yow receive his orders, for now there are eleven of the confederats broken off. Munster has declared for France, Denmark has called home his forces, Sweden has given his answer, that the reason why he has raised so many forces is for the peace of Christendome. The Pope has given a vast sum of money to King James, which yow may expect to have a share of very shortly. This yow may assure your self of from," &c.* (Signed) "CHARLES EDWARDS."

Though all the forces of the kingdome were either dispersed in garrisons through the Highlands, or quartered on their confines in order to fright them, yet not one of the Chiefs tooke the benifite of the Indemnity till the arivall of their commissionars from King James. They returned by London, as they had engaged themselves by the treaty, before they were allowed to sett out in a vessell belonging to the Government; and Brigadeir Barclay haveing shown King James his Letter to the Ministers of State, the Secretary keept the principall, and sent a double, attested by the brigadeir and Major Meinzies, to General Buchan, to whom it was directed. Major Meinzies was charged with this commission; and haveing come post from London, arrived att Dunkell eleven days after setting out from Paris, and some few days before the Indemnity expired. He was so fatigued that he could proceed no further on his journey, but was obliged to send it by ane express to General Buchan, who was then att Glengary, and who did not send Locheill his coppy till about thirty hours before the time was out. King James his letter is as follows:

"JAMES R.

"Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet yow well. We are informed of the state of our subjects in the Highlands, and of the condition that yow and our other officers there are in, as well by our trusty and well-beloved Sir George Barclay, brigadeir of our forces, as by

* *N.B.*—The original of this and several others is still extant.

our trusty and well-beloved Major Duncan Meinzies : And therefore we have thought fitt hereby to authorize yow to give leave to our said subjects and officers, who have hitherto behaved themselves so loyally in our cause, to doe what may be most for their own and your safety. For doeing whereof this shall be your warrant : And so we bid yow farewell. St Germans, this 12th day of December 1691, and in the seventh year of our reign.

" By his Majesty's command,
(*Subscribed*) " MELFORD."

Directed,—" To our trusty and well-beloved General Major Thomas Buchan, or to the Officer commanding-in-chief our Forces in our antient Kingdome of Scotland."

So far from being true were the rumours and storys spread abroad by Glengary, that his scituation att St Germans was not very good. He sent no other private instructions to his friends, but that he did not incline any of them should cross the seas into France, but the Generals Buchan and Canon, and Sir George Barclay, who then chose to reside att London, where he had some rich friends.

Locheill gott to Inverary the very day on which the Indemnity expired, where the Sherriff of the shyre resided, and with great reluctance tooke the benefite of it ; which, though it saved him from a prosecution, yet King William made use of this long delay as a pretence to defraud him (as he did all the other Chiefs) of his share of the L.20,000 sterling, promised and due to him by the treaty, and of the superiority of his estate, which he stood engaged to purchass in the manner I have related.

Though Locheill cannot be said to have suffered much by Glengary's resentment against Breadalbane, since he was from the beginning determined not to submitt without King James his consent, except we shall suppose it trew, as it was suspected, that General Buchan keept up his Majestie's Letter by that gentleman's influence for several days, on purpose to defraud him of the benefite of the Indemnity, yet it is certain that

the poor country soon thereafter felt the terrible effects of that mischiveous policy; for not onely the Chiefs, but many of the inferiour gentlemen and commons, were so buyed [buoyed] up with these false storys, that they did not submitt within the limited time, in expectation of more agreeable employment; and though the King's Letter opened their eyes, yet it came so late to their hands that it was of no use to them.

Major Meinzies, who, upon his arrival, had observed the whole forces of the kingdome ready to invade the Highlands, as he wrote to General Buchan, forseeing the unhappy consequences, not only begged that General to send expresses to all parts with orders immediatly to submitt, but allso wrote to Sir Thomas Livingston, praying him to supplicate the Councill for a prorogation of the time, in regard that he was so excessively fatigued that he was obliged to stop some days to repose a little; and that though he should send expresses, yet it was impossible they could reach the distant parts in such time as to allow the severall persons concerned the benefite of the Indemnity, within the space limited; besides, that some persons haveing putt the Highlanders in a bad temper, he was confident to perswade them to submitt, if a further time were allowed. Sir Thomas presented this Letter to the Councill on the 5th of January 1692, but they refused to give any answer, and ordered him to transmitt the same to Court.

King William, who thought himself no further bound by the capitulation than suited his interest, returned for answer ane order to Sir Thomas to destroy and cutt them off without mercy, and, att the same time, sent the following Letter to the Councill:

"William R.

"Right Trusty, &c.—Whereas we haveing signifyed the outmost of mercy, gentleness, and compassion, to these Highlanders who have continued so long in open rebellion, whereof many of their leaders stand convicted by our parliament and condemned as traitors: Now, that all of them have refused the favourable and advantageous offers we made them, and several of their Chieftanes and many of their Clans have not taken the benefite of our gracious Indemnity, we consider it indispen-

sible for the well of that our kingdome to apply the necessary severitys of law. To that end, we have given Sir Thomas Liveingston orders to employ our troops (which we have already conveniently posted) to cutt off these obstinate rebells by all manner of hostility; and we doe require you to give him your assistance and concurrence in all other things that may conduce to that service; and because these rebells, to avoyd our forces, may draw themselves, their familys, goods, or cattle, to lurk or be concealed among their neightbours: Therefore, we require and authorize you to emitt a proclamation to be published att the mercat crosses of these or the adjacent shires where the rebells reside, dischargeing, upon the highest penaltys the law allows, any resett, correspondence, or intercommuneing with these rebells. You will know, before these come to your hands, who have taken the benefite of the Indemnity, and are thereby safe, and who have not, that the names of the leaders, in particular, and their clans and tenants in general, who have been all engaged and involved with them, may be expressed, that nobody through ignorance may be insnared. And not doubting of your care in what may concern the vigorous execution of this our service, we bid you heartily fairwell. Given att our Court att Kengsingtoun the 11th January 1691-2, and of our reign the 3d year.

"By his Majesty's command,

(*Subscribed*) "Jo. Dalrymple."

By this Letter, it appears that the first design of King William and his Councellors was to destroy all the Highlanders who had not submitted before the time fixt in the Indemnity, without regard to the treaty; whereby they were not obliged to lay doun their arms untill they had King James his permission. But King William designed that treaty (as we have formerly observed) onely as a lure to decoy them into his snare; and it is more than probable that the effects of the barbarous policy of these times had been more generall, if the horrour wherewith all Europe was struck att the bloody beginning of it in Glencoe, and the hardy and desperate resolution that the Chiefs entered into of uniteing for the common defence, had not putt ane early stop to it: For it is clear from that Letter, that the cruell design was not onely to extend

to the leaders and their men who had been actually in arms, but even to their wives, children, servants, and goods, who were all doomed to fall promiscuously in that bloody sacrifice; otherways, what can be the meaning of the proclamation dischargeing the leiges to harbour these miserable creatures, or so much as to correspond with them, under the highest penaltys of law? Does not the preamble to the orders for that proclamation explain the intention and design of it beyond all doubt? It begins thus:—"And because these rebells, to avoyd our forces, may withdraw themselves, their familys, goods, or cattle, to lurk or be concealed among their neightbours; therefore," &c.

But if there remains any doubt from the words, the facts that followed will serve as a commentary upon them; for, in consequence of the above, and other more severe orders that followed, (for I am informed that the Councill did not think it proper to register all the orders of that time,) the forces entered the Highlands from the severall parts where they were formerly posted for that purpose, and were quartered upon the people, who knew nothing of their intentions.

The country of Glencoe is, as it were, the mouth or inlett into Lochaber from the south, and the inhabitants are the first we meet with that appeared unanimously for King James. They are separated from Breadalbane on the South by a large desert, and from Lochaber by ane arm of the sea on the North; on the East and West it is covered by high rugged and rocky mountains, almost perpendicular, riseing like a wall on each side of a beautifull valley, where the inhabitants reside. A party of the troops were quartered here, as in other parts of the Highlands, and they were so civilly used, that they began to contract a friendship and intimacy with their several landlords and domesticks. The Laird of Glenco having been, like the rest of his countrymen, flushed and blown up with the false hopes which the rumours I have mentioned generally infused, had neglected to take the Indemnity; but upon the intimation of King James his Letter had surrendered himself to the Governour of Inverlochy, who gave him a certificate thereof; the weather being then so excessively stormy, that there was no possibility of traveling to Inveraray, where the Sherriff resided, and who was the onely person authorized by the Indemnity to receive the submissions of those within

his shire. But the Governour of Inverlochy haveing taken it upon him to administrate the oath of alledgiance to him, and to give him a certificate, the poor gentleman thought himself absolutely secure, and dreaded nothing less than the fate he soone thereafter mett with from his bloody guests, especially considering that the very day after that limited by the Indemnity he prevailed upon Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglass, Sherriff of the shire, to administrate the oaths required.

I have formerly hinted, that the designs of the Court were against the whole body of the Highlanders, as afterwards evidently appeared, when the bloody fact came to be publickly examined into by the Parliament, on the occasion that shall be by and by mentioned. There was then nine Letters produced from the Lord Stair, one of the Scots Secretarys who attended the Court, to Sir Thomas Livingstone, Collonell Hill, and Lieutenant-Collonell Hamilton, and two setts of Instructions to them, both super and subscribed by King William; but all these being published att full length in the severall printed accounts we have of that tragedy, I shall onely recite such passages of them as I think will putt it in a clear light.

In the first of these Letters, (December 1, 1691,) directed to Lieutenant-Colonell Hamilton, there are these words :—"The winter is the onely season in which we are sure the Highlanders cannot escape us, nor carry their wives, bairns, and cattle, to the mountains." In another to him, of the third of the same month, he says :—"It is the onely time that they cannot escape yow, for human constitution cannot indure to be long out of houses.—This is the proper season to maule them, in the cold, long nights." And in a third to Sir Thomas Livingstone, of the seventh of January, he tells them that the design was, "to destroy intearly the country of Lochaber, Locheil's lands, Keppoch's, Glengary's, Appine, and Glencoe."—"I assure yow," continues he, "your power shall be full enough, and I hope the souldiers will not trouble the Government with prisoners!" The Secretary was, indeed, as good as his word, for the first Instructions (January 11, 1691-2) for a general massacre bore, in express terms, ane order to Sir Thomas Livingstone to "putt all the Highlanders who had not taken the oaths to fire and sword." They are the same that were mentioned in his Majesty's Letter to his

Privy Councill, formerly recited, as appears from the dates, and were attended with one from the Secretary to Sir Thomas Livingston, wherein he makes further ecclaircissements, and takes notice of the King's super and subscribeing them, either with a view of giveing the whole glory to his Majesty, or to keep himself free from a future prosecution.

But before Sir Thomas had time to putt his orders in execution, it happened luckily for the poor Highlanders, that the Lord Carmarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds, was informed by the Secretary of the contents, which putt him upon a resolution of attempting to gett them countermanded. He represented to his Majesty, that the orders were not onely contrary to the laws of all civilized nations, but allso to good policy; for King James was sett aside for attempting to gett above the laws, and yet the most arbitrary of his actions came not near such a method of procedure. That the Highlanders were governed by the same laws with the rest of the kingdome, and if his Majesty inclined to gett rid of them, he might easily effect it under a cover of law, by a tryall before the Parliament; but that fire and sword would sound very harshly in the ears of such as pretend to be a free people, such words haveing never been heard from any of our native Kings. To this it was answered: That the Highlanders, being not onely in ane actuall rebellion, but in arms, att open war with the Government, they had excepted themselves from the benefite of the law, and therefore might be justly punished by that of the sword: That his Majesty's royall mercy was sufficiently evidenced by his gracious condescention to their own terms, and by even rewarding them for their being in rebellion: That they had refused these most bountifull offers, and that they were now to be destroyed as wild savages, sucking the blood, and preying upon the goods of their fellow-subjects, they being all thieves and robbers, hated and detested by the rest of the kingdome: That their utter destruction would be agreeable to all peaceable and honest people; and that to attempt to bring it about by a legall tryall, would serve onely to putt them upon their guard, unite them more closely, and render them desperat, whereof the consequences might not onely prove troublesome, but even dangerous: That the method of punishing them most for his Majesty's interest was that which would strike

most terrour, and that none could be more so than ane effectuall execution of the orders already issued out.

However, after some more debate, it was agreed to restrick the orders to a part for that time, thereby to make ane easy essay how that terrible method would relish with the three kingdoms. Their reasons for fixing upon Glencoe were principally two ; the first was, their scituation, which rendered the execution easy ; the second was, that the Secretary had conceived a particular hatred against that tribe upon some former quarrell, as appears from one of his letters to Hamilton, first quoted ; wherein he has these words :—"Just now Argyle tells me that Glencoe hath not taken the oaths, att which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sett."—"I have no great kindness for Keppoch and Glencoe, and it is well these people are in mercy." There is a slur drawn over this last paragraph, which, however, still remained legible.

This new resolution occasioned second Instructions to be drawn up, (January 16, 1691-2,) and the article concerning Glencoe (which was the fourth) runs in these words :

"William R.

"As for M'Ian of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders. It will be proper, for vindication of publick justice, to extirpate that sett of thieves.

"W. R."

It was remarkable that his Majesty was pleased to distinguish that article by signing and countersigning it himself, in place of his Secretary, who seems to have had a double view in adviseing his master to it ; as well forseeing that it would not onely screen himself from unlucky consequences, but allso make the actors more zealous in performing that service. These Instructions were directed to Sir Thomas Livingston and Collonell Hill, and the last had likeways a letter from the Secretary, pointing out the particular method how they were to be executed, and enjoyning dispatch and secrecy.

These gentlemen, haveing commanded the troops to be disposed in proper posts, issued out their orders to Lieutenant-Collonel Hamilton for the execution; who thereupon wrote the following letter to Major Robert Duncanson, who was quartered with a part of Argile's regiment att Ballacholis, which is on the north side of the Ferry, and almost opposite to Glencoe:

"*Ballacholis, February* 12, 1692.

"Sir,—Persuand to the commander-in-chief and my Collonel's orders to me, for putting in execution the service commanded against the rebells in Glencoe, wherein yow with the party of the Earl of Argile's regiment under your command are to be concerned, yow are therefore forthwith to order your affairs, so as that the several posts already assigned by yow be, by yow and your several detatchments, fallen in action with precisely, by five o'clock to-morrow morning, being Saturday; att which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this regiment for the other places. It will be most necessary that yow secure these avenues on the south side, that the old fox, nor none of his cubs, may gett away. The orders are, that none be spared from 70 of the sword, nor the Government troubled with prisoners. This is all untill I see you, from your humble servant, (Signed) James Hamilton.

"*P.S.*—Please order a guard to secure the Ferry and the boats there; and the boats must be all on this syde the Ferry, after your men are over."

"For their Majesty's service. For Major Robert Duncanson, of the Earl of Argile's Regiment."

This Duncanson was of a sullen, brutal, and savage nature, and well qualifyed for such a service. His orders to the Captain that commanded in Glencoe were as follows:

"*Ballacholis*, 12*th February* 1692.

"Sir,—Yow are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebells, the M'Donalds of Glencoe, and putt all to the sword under 70. Yow are to have special care that the old fox and his sons doe, upon no account, escape your hands. Yow are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This yow are to putt in execution att five o'clock in the morning precisely, and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be att yow with a stronger party. If I doe not come to yow att five, yow are not to tarry for me, but to fall on. This is by the King's speciall command, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants be cutt off root and branch. See that this be putt in execution without feud or favour, else yow may expect to be treated as not true to the King's Government, nor a man fitt to carry a commission in the King's service. Expecting yow will not faill in the fulfilling hereof, as yow love your self, I subscrive these with my hand.

(Signed) "Robert Duncanson."

"For their Majesty's service. To Captain
Robert Campbell of Glenlyon."

The bloody work began at the hour appointed, while all the destined victims were fast asleep. The first they despatched was Glencoe himself, who haveing upon the noise started from his bed, was shott while he was pulling on his britches, and fell back in his lady's arms. The poor gentlewoman gave a dreadfull shriek, and expyred some few hours thereafter. They then served all within the family in the same manner, without distinction of age or person. In a word, for the horrour of that execrable butchery must give pain to the reader, they left none alive but a young child, who being frighted with the noise of the guns, and the dismall shrieks and crys of its dyeing parents, whom they were a murdering, gott hold of Captain Campbell's knees, and wrapt itself within his cloake ; by which, chanceing to move compassion, the Captain inclined to have saved it, but one Drummond, ane officer arriveing about

the breck of day with more troops, commanded it to be shott by a file of musketeers. Nothing could be more shokeing and horrible than the prospect of these houses bestrowed with mangled bodys of the dead, covered with blood, and resounding with the groans of wretches in the last agonys of life.

Two sons of Glencoe's were the onely persons that escaped in that quarter of the country; for, growing jealous of some ill designs from the behaviour of the souldiers, they stole from their beds a few minutes before the tragedy began, and chanceing to overhear two of them discourseing plainly of the matter, they endeavoured to have advertised their father, but finding that impracticable, they ran to the other end of the country and allarmed the inhabitants. There was another accident that contributed much to their safety; for the night was so excessively stormy and tempestuous, that four hundred souldiers who were appointed to murder these people, were stopt in their march from Inverlochy, and could not gett up till they had time to save themselves. To cover the deformity of so dreadfull a sight, the souldiers burnt all the houses to the ground, after haveing riffled them, carryed away nine hundred cows, two hundred horses, numberless herds of sheep and goats, and every thing else that belonged to these miserable people. Lamentable was the case of the women and children that escaped the butchery. The mountains were covered with a deep snow, the rivers impassable, storm and tempest filled the air, and added to the horrours and darkness of the night, and there was no houses to shelter them within many miles.

Thus fell Glencoe, and all that neightbourhood of his people, as it were att one blow. He was a person of great integrity, honour, good nature, and courage; and his loyalty to his old master, King James, was such, that he continued in arms from Dundee's first appearing in the Highlands, till the fatal treaty that brought on his ruine. He was strong, active, and of the biggest size; much loved by his neightbours, and blameless in his conduct. He gained so far upon two of the officers that lodged with him, that they refused to be concerned in the murder, and would have advertized him, had they known the matter soon enough

themselves. They were for this disobedience sent prissoners to Glasgow, and long confyned.

Glencoe's family is a branch of the antient M'Donalds (or, as they are commonly called, the M'Ians) of Ardnamurchan. The tribe is not numerous, but very resolute, hardy, and stout, and have the least vanity of any of that great and powerfull clan. The fore-mentioned Secretary seems to have had a particular aversion against all the name; for he says, in one of his letters (January 16, 1691-2) to Sir Thomas Livingstone, that, for his part, he could have wished the M'Donalds had not divided, that is, that they had all excluded themselves from mercy by not timeously accepting of the Indemnity.

To finish the character of Glencoe, Mr Philips represents him att the first general randezvouze in the following manner:

Nixt with a dareing look and warlike stride
Glencoe advanced: His rattleing armour shone
With dreadfull glare: His large, broad, brawny back
A thick bull's-hide impenetrably hard,
Instead of cloaths invest, and though allong
Twice fifty of gigantick limbs and size
The warrior led, feirce, hardy, wild, and strong,
Yet his vast bulk did like a turret rise
By head and shoulders o'er the surly crew.
Round, in his left, his mighty shield he twirled,
And in his right, his broad-sword brandished high,
Which flashed like lightning with affrighting gleams.
His visage boisterous, horribly was graced
With stiff mustachios like two bending horns,
And turbid firey eyes, as meteors red,
Which fury and revenge did threaten round.

Inexpressable was the surprize and amazement wherewith the Highlanders, and indeed all mankind, were struck, as soon as the news of

this tragedy were spread abroad. Locheill, who lived att no great distance, sent immediat orders to drive away all the souldiers that were quartered upon his people. His neightbours followed his example, and expresses were dispatched from Clan to Clan, for uniteing in the common defence, so soon as the season would permit. In the mean time, they keept strick guards upon all the avenues, inlets, and posts, from which they could apprehend any danger ; and were resolved to trust their safety to their swords, seeing they could depend no more upon Articles, Treatys, and Proclamations. Glencoe's two sons, with the remainder of that tribe, betook themselves to arms, and being joyned by some others, they keept together in small partys while they thought themselves in dangers, and for the women and children, they took sanctuary among their neightbours.

The detestable authors of this barbarous massacre were so scandalized and affronted by the general voice of mankind, that they thought fitt to proceed no further, and evacuated the Highlands of all their troops, except such as were posted in strong houses and other garrisons ; whereby, the Chiefs finding themselves secure, proceeded no further in their intended confederacy.

James Johnstoun of Weariston was second Secretary of State, and satt att the helm. The Convention of the Estates, I have mentioned, being turned into a Parliament, for it would then have been dangerous to have called a new one, he ruled them att his pleasure, though many of them were much enraged att the murder of so many innocents, and inclined to have brought the actors to ane account, while the horrour of the thing was fresh ; yet, such was Mr Johnston's power and influence over them, that he, knowing well where the crime would land, suppressed all their murmurs, and saved the criminals from a tryall. But, happening thereafter to conceive ane implacable malice against his rival Secretary, whom he envyed the honour he enjoyed in his master's favour, in order to satisfy his revenge by exposeing his antagonist, though att the expense of his Prince's honour, he, in the summer session of the year 1695, which was near three years after the bloody fact, brought it to a publick examination before the Parliament. It was then, and not till then, that

the true authors were discovered, and all the springs and machinations of that execrable contrivance was brought to light. The Parliament voted it murder; but, upon examination of the Letters and Instructions I have mentioned, they, by a second vote, acquitted Sir Thomas Livingston, Collonell Hill, and their associates, as not exceeding their Instructions. But as the Secretary designed no more by this sham tryall, but the exposeing of his collegue to publick infamey, which he fully effected by the publication of the aforesaid writts, so the affair ended, and all the criminalls escaped, under the shelter of the great person that authorised them.

The Generals Buchan and Canon, with their officers, haveing applyed for permission (March 23, 1692) to transport themselves abroad, they obtained, by a recommendation from the Councill, a pass from the Chancellour for the ship that was to carry them from the Port of Leith to that of Havre de Grace. The Councill, after the Murder of Glencoe, refused no favonr to any of that party; and even went so far as, upon application by the Laird of Grant, who was one of their number, to grant allowances to several persons who were comprehended in the general capitulation to continue att home without takeing the publick oaths, because they were not clear to swear them. This remarkable act bears date March 23, 1692.

Sir John M'Lean took the opportunity of this favourable disposition to apply for liberty to goe to the Court of England, (April 26, 1692.) His petition was presented by the Earl of Argile, and granted by the Councill upon condition that he surrendered the Castle of Dowart, and the other places that he still keept out for King James, to his Lordship before delivery.

Sir John's family and scituation I have already given ane account of. He was of a person and disposition more turned for the Court and the camp, than for the business of a private life. There was a natural vivacity and politeness in his manner, which he afterwards much improved by a courtly education; and as his person was well made and gracefull, so he took care to sett it off by all the ornaments and luxury of dress. He was of a sweet temper, and good natured. His witt lively and sparkleing, and his humour pleasant and facetious. He loved

books, and acquired the languages with great facility, whereby he cultivated and enriched his understanding with all manner of learning, but especially the belles lettres ; add to this, a natural elegancy of expression, and ane inexhaustible fancy, which, on all occasions, furnished him with such a copious variety of matter, as rendered his conversation allways new and entertaining. But with all these shineing qualitys, the natural indolence of his temper, and ane immoderat love of pleasure, made him unsuiteable to the circumstances of his family. No person talked of affairs private or publick with a better grace, or more to the purpose, but he could not prevaill with himself to be att the least trouble in the execution. He seemed to know every thing, and from the smallest hint so penetrated into the circumstances of other people's business, that he often did great services by his excellent advice, and he was of a temper so kind and obligeing, that he was fond of every occasion of doeing good to his friends, while he neglected many inviteing opportunitys of serving himself.

Sir John had the good fortune to be taken notice of att Court by Queen Mary. She was naturally a good Princess, and had all the sweetness of the Royal Family of the Stewarts in her blood. She had a warm side to all her father's friends ; but knowing how much the Scots in general, but especially the Highlanders, were detested by the King her husband, she had too much reservedness and modesty in her temper to interpose in their behalf. But while she commanded herself, which was as often as her husband was in Flanders, she served them as far as was consistent with the policy of that Court. By her authority it was that Sir Thomas Livingstone was stopt in his march to the Highlands after the cessation, though he was positively commanded to it by King William ; and that Appine and some other prisoners were sett att liberty, as has been formerly observed ; and now she had the goodness to make use of the present opportunity of serving Sir John M'Lean.

He was the onely person of his party that went to Court, which no doubt contributed much to his being so particularly observed by the Queen, who haveing received him most graciously, honoured him frequently with her conversation, and said many kind and obligeing things to him. Sir John, on his part, acquitted himself with so much polite-

ness and address, that her Majesty soon began to esteem him. He took the proper occasion to inform her of the misfortunes of his family, and artfully insinuated that he and his predecessors had drawn them all upon themselves by the services they had endeavoured to perform to her grandfather, father, and uncle. She answered, that the antiquity and merite of his family were no strangers to her ears; and that though she had taken a resolution never to interpose betwixt her father's friends and the King her husband, yet she would distinguish him so far as to recommend his fortunes to his Majesty, by a letter under her own hand; and that she doubted not but that it would have some influence, since it was the first favour of that nature which she had ever demanded.

Her Majesty's indulgence quickly procured him the compliments of many of the courtiers, who offered their services with great appearance of sincerity. He made a good enough figure while he remained among them; but his inclinations leading him to the army, he intimated his designs to her Majesty, and begged the honour of her commands. The good Queen made good her promise, and wrote to her husband in his favours in very strong terms. Soon after his arrival in Flanders, he got himself introduced to that warlike Prince, who received him in a manner that surprized all who were acquainted with his temper. He said to Sir John, that he must be a great favourite of the Queen's, since she had taken such notice of him, as, contrary to her usewal reservedness, to recommend his fortunes to him: That, as he was the first that had come with so powerfull ane intercession, he was resolved to distinguish him by the care he would take of his fortune; and ordered him to give him a memoir of his demands in writeing; and, in the meantime, promised him the command of the first vacant regiment.

Sir John was much carressed while he continued in the army; and King William not onely honoured him with his countenance, but told Argile that he must part with Sir John's estate, and that he himself would be the purchaser. The Earl of Argile was a person of a frank, noble, and generous disposition. He loved his pleasures, affected magnificence, and valued money no further than as it contributed to support the expence which the gallantry of his temper daily putt him to. He several

times offered very easy terms to Sir John, and particularly, he made ane overture of quitting all his pretentions to that estate, on condition of submitting to be the Earl's vassall for the greatest part of it, and of paying him two thousand pounds sterling, which he had then by him in ready money; but the expensive gayety of Sir John's temper made him unwilling to part with the money, and the name of a vassall suited as ill with his vanity, which occasioned that and several other proposals to be refused.

However, as the generous Earl was noways uneasy to part with the estate, so he, with his usewall frankness, answered King William, that his Majesty might allways command him and his fortunes; and that he submitted his claim upon Sir John's estate, as he did every thing else, to his royall pleasure. But before this transaction could be concluded, the battle of Landen happened to be fought between the confederat and French armys, wherein the last proveing victorious, Sir John, upon a fancy that the King of France would take that opportunity of restoreing King James, went immediatly after the action to the Court of St Germains, where he was but coldly received.

King William inquired after Sir John with some anxiety, being afraid that he was either killed or made prisoner by the enemy; but informing himself afterwards where he was, he confirmed the Earl of Argile's former rights to the estate by a new grant, whereby that Lord's successors possess it without any disturbance to this day.

Such were the fortunes of those that appeared for King James, and though there were after this several plots and conspiracys entered into in his favours, both in England and Scotland, yet they commonly ended in the destruction of those that managed them, and served as a pretence to draw the bridle harder upon the mouths of such as were suspected to befriend them. But none suffered more for that unfortunat Prince than the noble family of Perth. I have already mentioned the Chancellour's being taken in Fife, and his confinement in the Castle of Stirling. He continued there, some times att more, and some times att less liberty, according to the different posture of affairs, till after the defeat of the

French fleet att La Hogg, which procured him a permission to transport himself abroad into France.

The Chancellour was not well out of their clutches when severe orders arrived from Court against the Non-jurants, (July 19, 1692,) though there is no mention of any motion they had made. The Indemnity was no protection to the most innocent and quiet. All those who had gone to France since King William's descent into Brittain are ordered to be prosecuted, and a process of high treason to be raised against the Duke of Gordon, and all others who had been about King James. The Earl of Seaforth is also involved in the same calamity, for his invasion from Ireland, and his Majesty ordains four hundred pounds sterling to be payed to the lawers who should assist the sollicitor in these cruell prosecutions. The jayles were immediatly filled with such of the nobility and gentry as refused to swear the publick oaths ; and all the disaffected are proceeded against with the outmost rigour and severity, as appears from the Councill's Answer to King William's Letter. But his Majesty, not satisfyed with this, did by another Letter (November 24, 1692) redouble his rigid commands against these unhappy persons, and added many others to the list of the proscribed, among whom was the young Clanrannald, who, it seems, had not taken the Indemnity. That excellent youth thought himself secure by the remoteness of his residence, but being allarmed by a citation from the Councill, he retired into France, where he remained till he became one of the most accomplished gentlemen of the age.

About the end of 1694, or beginning of 1695, the young Lord Drummond, son to the Chancelour, arrived from France. He was immediatly obliged to make his appearance before the Privy Councill, (February 24, 1695,) and not onely to give security or baill of one thousand pounds sterling for himself, but also of two hundred pounds for his valet de chambre and footman, while they continued in his Lordship's service.

The discovery of the Assassination Plott, as it is called, putting all again into a ferment, drew new troubles after it. Though there were no

orders out against my Lord Drummond, (for he was then allowed no other tittle, although his father was created a Duke before King James left England,) yet his Lordship, justly apprehensive of being made prisoner, retired himself out of the way, and, meeting accidentally with Captain Grant, ane officer in the Lord Murray's regiment, he (the Captain) inquired who he was? But his Lordship, who was incog., and inclined to conceall himself, not knowing of what regiment Grant was, answered, that he belonged to the army as well as himself; and Grant, still officiously insisting to know to what regiment he belonged, his Lordship, by misfortune, said, that he was of the Lord Murray's. Grant, who understood this to be false, without further ceremony made him prisoner, and though his Lordship immediatly discovered himself, and demanded his warrand, yet Grant would not part with him. Such were the miserys of these times, that the greatest personages were att the mercy of every inferior officer, and insolence and oppression were the qualitys that recommended them most. For the Councill not onely approved of Grant's illegall procedure by a solemn act, (March 26, 1696,) but gave warrand to committ his Lordship to the Castle of Stirling. Though he had the fortune to make his escape some few days thereafter, yet that was of no benefite, for he was not onely summoned by the Councill to enter his person into custody, (April 10, 1696,) but the Lord Advocate sued him upon his baill-bond, though he had not incurred the penalty, for his Lordship was neither accused of breaking the peace, nor of refusing to appear, which were the conditions of the bond; on the contrary, his former committment voyded the obligations, and the bond became thereby extinct. But such was the violence of the times, that the Councill gott over all objections, condemned him in the fine, granted warrand to denounce him rebell, and to seize his moveable goods for the payment. His Lordship, however, haveing, by the advice of his friends in the Councill, surrendered himself within a short time thereafter, they did him the justice to return him his bond, and committed him to the Castle of Edinburgh, (June 12, 1696.) In a few days thereafter, (June 18, 1696,) he had the company of many of his principall friends, among whom were the Viscount of Strathallan, the Laird of Loggie-Drummond, and others of his nearest relations; and

on the 3d of September thereafter, there was ane order issued out to search his papers.

In a word, that noble Lord was miserably harrassed all this reign. He represented a family which had allways been a blessing to the country where it resided; and he himself was possessed of so many amiable qualitys, that he was too generally beloved not to be suspected by such zealous Ministers. He was humble, magnificent, and generous, and had a certain elevation and greatness of soule, that gave ane air of dignity and grandeur to all his words and actions. He had a person well turned, gracefull, and genteele; and was, besides, the most polite and best bred Lord of the age. His affability, humanity, and goodness, gained upon all with whom he conversed; and as he had many friends, so it was not known that he had any personall enemys. He had too much sincerity and honour for the times. The crafty and designing are allways apt to cover their vices under the mask of the most noble and sublime virtues; and it is naturall enough for great souls to believe that every person of figure truely is what he ought to be; there being something so wretchedly mean in dissimulation and hypocrisy, that a person of true honour thinks it even criminal to suspect that any he converses with is capable of debuseing* the dignity of his nature so low as to be guilty of such ignoble and vile practises. None could be freer of these, nor, indeed, of all other vices, than the noble person I speak of. The fixt and unalterable principles of justice and integrity, which he allways made the rules of his conduct, were transmitted to him with his blood, and are virtues inherent and hereditary in the constitutions of that illustrious family.

To give the reader ane undeniable proof of the generous maxims of that house, it will be proper to notice, that by the laws of Scotland no person succeeding to ane estate is, in a legal sense, vested in the property, untill he serves himself heir to the person from whom he derives his tittle. The heir often took the advantage of this, when creditors were negligent, and passing by his father, and perhaps his grandfather,

* Q. "reducing."—*Edit.*

served heir to him who was last infefted; for, unless they were actually seased of the estate, according to the forms of law, they were no more then simple possessors, and could not incumber the lands with any deeds or debts; whereby the heir gott clear of all that interveened betwixt himself and the person who he represented by his service. This was ane unjustifiable practice, which the dilligence of creditors might allways have prevented, and which is now wholly corrected by ane act of parliament obligeing every one possessing ane estate to pay the debts of his predecessors, as well as his own, whither representing them by a service or not.

But the house of Perth was always so firmly attached to honour and justice, that there are no less than fifteen or sixteen retoures descending linealy from father to son, extant among their records. Now, a retoure is a write returned from the Court of Chancery, testifyeing the service of every succeeding heir; and is, therefore, ane unexceptionable evidence of paying his predecessor's debts, and of performing his obligations and deeds.

Such has been, and still is, the uniform practice of these truly noble Lords. The house of Montrose, and, perhaps, some others of the antient Nobility, have followed the same course, which will not onely entaill a blessing upon their family and posterity, but will likeways be a perpetual memorial of their integrity, honour, and antiquity.

The reader will not be surprised att this seeming digression, when he is informed that there was a hereditary friendship between the house of Perth and the Chiefs of the Clan Cameron, which I have elsewhere taken notice of; and as this is evident from innumerable Letters and other writes still to be seen among Locheil's papers, so it would have been ane injustice done to the gentleman whose life I write, to have passed over in silence ane honour whereof he was allways proud. But there was still a better reason for mentioning the late Duke of Perth; for he, in effect, became head of the Clans, after his first appearance, and it was the jealousy that our Ministers of State conceived from this powerfull union, which they allways suspected and dreaded, that occa-

sioned the perpetual troubles wherein he was involved during the remainder of his life.

Locheill drunk deeply of this bitter cup; for, being still ingaged in all the plots and designs that were sett on foot for the service of his beloved King James, it is no great wonder if the Government keept a jealous and watchfull eye over all his motions. The Governour of Inverlochy was their informer; but Locheill, to disarm his jealousy as much as possible, not onely commanded his people to humour and serve him in all his demands, but allso endeavoured by all means and ways to insinuat himself into his friendship. [He often sent him compliments of venison and other raritys of that country.] He made him many familiar visits, drunk merrily with his officers, as if his head had been disingaged of all business; and not onely tooke the diversions of hunting, fishing, and such exercises with them himself, but gave them the full liberty of his forrests, woods, &c. to divert themselves in all pleasures; by which methods he very soon gained his ends.

In one of these visits, there happened ane adventure which I shall recite for the entertainment of the reader. Chanceing one day to be in the fields with one of these officers, who had formerly commanded att Inverlochy, during Cromwell's Usurpation, and discourseing occasionally on these troublesome times, the officer, among other remarks, took notice that the men were even diminished in their size, and that they had lost much of that spirit, brawn, and vigour, which they formerly had: "And for example"—said he, looking on those who attended Locheill—"is there any there that has the strength to give such blows as our men received att Achadalew, and the other rancounters that we daily had with yow? In these days we thought that a company of our men were not matches for twenty of yours; but att present I can't hinder myself from thinking that twenty of ours would beat a company of such as these, who seem neither to have strength nor courage."

Locheill, who never talked magnificently of himself, nor of anything that belonged to him, said, that he believed the officer might have good reasons for what he alleadged, but that still he could not allow himself to think that the odds was quite so great, seeing he had had some late try-

alls of their courage att the battle of Killycranky, and on other occasions. That he was far from thinking that the misfortunes of the English att Achadalew, and thereafter, proceeded either from want of strength, courage, or good discipline, but from other obvious causes, such as the inequality of their arms, their not being acquainted with the old way of fighting, and their being commonly surprized; besides, continued he, we may observe from the historys of all ages, that once ane army is soundly beaten, the men become so dispirited, that it is hardly possible to recover them dureing that war. Such was your case; for, after the defeat your people received att Achadelew, it was observeable that they would not so much as look our people in the face; and yet the brave resistance they made before they were so intimidated shows that they were as stout, and valued their lives as little, or rather less, than their enemys did.

Among those that attended Locheill there was one, whose name I have forgott, that was of the same age with himself, of a moderat size, and somewhat slender, but hardy, brave, and vigorous. He had been a constant companion to his Chief in all his enterprizes, and particularly att Achadalew, where he made the first essay of his courage. He was a gentleman by birth, though not of the first rank; and his Chief never went from home, but, besides his ordinary servants, he had him and half-a-dozen such about him, in whose fidelity and courage he could, with safety, confide.

This person (whom I shall call Donald) had no other language but the Gaulick; but observeing that in the conversation between his Chief and the officer, the latter frequently looked upon him and his companions with a kind of contempt, he began immediatly to suspect the truth of the matter; and being upon inquiry informed by his Chief of all that passed:—"What!" said he, looking upon the officer with indignation and fury, "does that Englishman fancy that twenty of his men are matches for fifty of us? If you'll be pleased to allow us, we'll soon show him the contrary. Pray, Sir, tell that proud man, that, old as I am, if he has courage to venture his person, I will yet give him such a blow as he shall remember while he lives."

The officer, who, by Donald's action and gesture, partly anticipated his meaning, haveing his words interpreted by Locheill, answered, that, though he feared no man upon earth, yet it would be a reflection upon him, who was ane officer, to fight with a common fellow.

Locheill, knowi ng well that these words would offend Donald as much as any that had yet passed, jestingly explained them in the worst and most vilifyeing sense, which enraged him so, that he swore by God and his Chief, that he could count his ancestours for ten generations back. That there was not one coward among them, and that, if it were not for the respect that he bore to his Chief, he would teach that proud man better manners, and to his cost lett him know he was of better blood than himself.

The officer was much surprized to observe Donald so transported with fury, and haveing asked Locheill what occasioned it, was informed, that he thought himself highly affronted in haveing his birth and quality called in question : " But," added he, " there needs be no scruple as to that point, for though he is a poor, yet is he a brave and faithfull relation of mine." The officer, haveing now no pretence to shift the challenge, accepted it, a glove was cutt, a place appointed, and certain articles agreed upon for regulating the combate.

The day being come, the partys appeared in the field. Donald had the honour to be attended by his Chief, with a certain number of his friends, armed after the ordinary manner ; and the officer had as many gentlemen of the same regiment, who were to be judges of what past. The officer stript to the shirt, and though the gentlemen on both sides endeavoured to divert the matter from proceeding further, yet he appeared inflexible, alleadgeing that he had been too long a souldier to be affraid of any man. Donald, on the other side, being no less earnest, stepped aside with some of his fellows, and prepared for action. He threw off his shoes, plade, and every thing else that might encumber him, and retained nothing but a short tartan jackett, which the Highlanders wear commonly nixt their shirts. While he was thus makeing ready, one of the bystanders told him, that he was goeing to engage in a very unequall combat, the officer haveing the advantage of fighting with a small

sword, which he could att one push thrust through his body, before the other could possibly fetch a stroke with his chly-more; whereby death was inevitable. To this Donald answered, very unconcernedly, that he knew all that very well before hand; but that, haveing come there with a full resolution of ending his life honourably, he had determined himself to receive the thrust, which he wished might peirce so fully through his body, as that he might gett hold of the sword on the other side, where he was resolved to keep it fast till he gave the proud Sassanoch such a blow, that if it did not immediatly dispatch him, he would att least feel the smart of it while he lived.

Ane Irish officer, who out of curiosity went to take a sight of Donald, and who, from his being long conversant among the Highlanders, understood the Gaulick equally well with the Irish, which, indeed, is but a different dialect of the same language, chanceing to overhear this discourse, run quickly to the other company, and, addressing himself to Donald's antagonist, "Sir," said he, "'tis now full time that yow putt your affairs in order, and take leave of your friends, for the desperate Highlander that is to be your party in the combate is resolved that yow shall both dye." And thereupon repeated what he had overheard.

All the company, except Locheill, (who knew before hand what was resolved,) were struck with wonder; and the officer himself, looking somewhat pale upon the strange recital, they again took the opportunity to sollicite the makeing up the matter; and the Governour, happening to come up to them att that very point of time, added authority to advice, and ordered matters so, that he (the officer) acknowledged before the company that he was much in the wrong in what he had said; that he sincearly believed Donald himself, and all the Clan, to be as hardy, robust, and brave as men could be; and that since he had done no personal injury to Donald, he hoped that the publick declaration that he had made would be thought sufficient to satisfy his honour.

Locheill was the more willing that the affair should be made up, that he was apprehensive, that in case both, or either of them, fell in the combat, it might raise ill blood, which might prove dangerous in the present scituation of his affairs. He therefore commanded Donald to ac-

cept of the appology, and to make another in his turn, signifying that he had mistaken his antagonist's meaning, which he was now convinced was intended neither to the dishonour of Locheill nor his Clan. Hereupon the partys embraced, though Donald often declared that he never did any thing with more reluctance. But the presence of his Chief obliged him to consent. His antagonist was more generous, and was so sincearly reconciled, that he ever after shewed the greatest friendship and respect for him imaginable, and on all occasions magnifyed his resolution and bravery.

FINIS.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

MEMOIRS OF LOCHEILL.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

I. EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION.

From the remorse which a savage and profligate Baron displayed—p. 4.

The circumstance alluded to is to be found in the confession of the Laird of Ormiston, one of the accomplices in the murder of Darnley. In it he says, "Alswa, in a raige, I hangit a poor man for an horse, with mony uther wickit deeds, for the quhilk I aske my God mercy." It is almost to be regretted that this fine specimen of the feudal savage suffered death for no greater crime; for whatever might have been the guilt of his murderers, Darnley certainly deserved his fate.

The heads of subordinate tribes and powerful Cadets—p. 5.

The "Historie of the Kennedies" may be quoted as an illustration of this position, as it is almost entirely occupied with an account of the struggles of the powerful Family of Bargany to throw off their allegiance to the Family of Cassillis.

The two following extracts form admirable specimens of the feelings and conduct of the lower and middling classes. In their graphic and dismal details, it is difficult to find any trace of the subdued and servile spirit which characterises these ranks in the merely feudal system.

"At this tyme the Laird of Colzeone caussit me Lord sett ane tak to ane Mackewine of the land of . . . quhilk me Lord had promesitt befoir to Patrik Richartt. This

Patrick Richartt was foster-broder to the Maister of Caissillis, and for that caus the Maister send to this Mackewine and forbad him to tak that man's rowme our his heid, or ellis he suld gar all his harnis clattir. This Mackewine being ane prowd cairll, and heffand Colzeone and the Schereff of Galloway to maynteyne him, *said he wald tak ony land me Lord wald sett him.* The Maister reseaffing this ansuer, in ane readge forgaddiring with this Mackewine slayis him."

"In this tyme the Laird of Dromaquhryne, M'Alexander, come to me Lord of Caissillis, and tuik ane tak of his teyndis of Dromaquhryne ouer the Laird [of Girvandmaynis' heid;] quhais hous had euer bene tenandis to me Lord of Caissillis' house of theis teyndis, and the Lairdis of Dromaquhryne had thame off him againe for service; *bot this Dromaquhryne being ane proud manne, wald be now tennant to me Lord himselff and his man.* This Laird of Girwandmaynis com to me Lord, and said his Lordship had [done him wrange?] in setting of his teyndis to his awin man owr his heid, and for ony gaynis he sall reap be that deid, the samin salbe bot small, my Lord ansuerit and said, Ye dar nocht find falt with him, for, and ye do, we knaw quhair ye duell. The uther said, and he byde be that deid he suld repent the same, do for him quha lykitt. Me Lord said, Ye dar nocht steir him for your craig, and bad him gang to his yett. The Laird of Girwandmaynis rydis his wayis, and thinking that the Laird of Dromaquhryne wald cum efter him, he stayitt, and his tua serwandes with him, one ane muir, callit Craiddow, behind an know quhill that he saw him cuming. His broder, the Laird of Corseclayis, being with him and Olifer Kennedy of . . . bot thai strak neuer ane straik in his defense. Girvandmaynis perseiwis him and his twa men with him, callit Gilbert M'Fiddis and Williame M'Fidderis, ane boy quha wes the spy. Thay com to them on horseback, and strak him with swordis on the heid, and slew him."

The manner in which he was educated and trained—p. 6.

Allusion is here made to the custom of bringing up the Chieftains in the houses of foster-fathers, of which a particular description will be found in the body of the work.

And commanded by their respective heads—p. 9.

The following passage, extracted from a MS. History of the Mackenzies, at one time preserved in the Advocates' Library, and of which Mr J. W. Mackenzie, W.S. is in possession of an imperfect copy, (the use of which he has kindly allowed the Editor,) shows that considerable strictness of discipline and knowledge of the duties of officers was acquired by the Highlanders even at a very remote period.

"Alexander Mackenzie of Coull being sent from the camp to the hills, with a party of

six score chosen men that he had still with him, going on every onesett after as he conveaned the goods, he had ane brisk skirmish with the inhabitants of Morar, striving to hinder him in a straight pass that he had the goods to drive through, and he himself having gotten the pass before any of his company, and killed ane of the inhabitants of the pass, John Dhu Mackinninich vich Mnchie being the next that came up of his company, offerred to shoot him, saying, that it was presumption in him to be so forward as to kill men before his men came up to him ; withal saying, that he loved not a captain that was swifter than his shouldiers, in respect that if he were killed before the shouldiers came up, that the shouldiers might be overthrown for lack of a captain, and if they were put to the retreat, he wished the captain not to have more speed than his shouldiers."

By dint of practice, &c.—p. 9.

General Hawley, in the contemptible harangue he is said to have delivered to the chief Officers of the Crown at Holyroodhouse, after the Battle of Falkirk, says, that he never saw troops manœuvre better than the Highlanders ; but they had no training previous to their rising in arms only a few months before.

The Highland Bow—p. 9.

The following passage, also extracted from Mr Mackenzie's MS., proves the use occasionally made by the Highlanders of the bow :—

" Donald Mackinnich gave such race against him that he could not draw his bow to shoot him, but struck him in the shouldier with the bow, wherewith he brack the bow, and struck him flat to the ground ; and before he could get up he stabbed him with his durk."

The general form of the Claymore, &c.—p. 9.

In estimating the relative efficiency of arms, it seems to be very frequently lost sight of, that, in the ancient times, and during the Middle-ages, the broadsword, in the hands of a foot soldier, at least, was always supposed to be combined with the shield ; which enables the swordsman to raise his arm, so as to give a more effectual cut than he can possibly do if he is also forced to parry with the same weapon.

In the ballad of The Bridge of Dee, the Highlanders are described as being " pretty men"

" To handle sword and shield."

In Kemp's Nine Daies Wonder, published by the Camden Society, a "*Laudator temporis acti*" is made to exclaim,

> Oh 'twas a goodly matter then
> *To see your sword and buckler men.*
> * * * * * * * * * * *
> And now a man is but a pricke,
> A boy armed with a poating stick,
> Will dare to challenge cutting Dick.

Maurice, Prince of Orange, the Duc de Rohan, and Lord Orrery, laid great stress upon the use of the target. (Vide Lord Orrery's Art of War, p. 26.)

It is also a mistake to suppose that the claymore was exclusively a Highland weapon; it was used all over Scotland until fire-arms became prevalent. Beague, in his Account of the Siege of Haddington, describes the Scotish forces, Highland and Lowland, as being similarly armed with long swords, large bows, and targets. And Patten, in his Narrative of an Expedition to Scotland, describes the Scotish swords, without making any distinction between Highland and Lowland, "as notably broad and thin, and so made for slicing, that, as I never saw none so good, so think I it hard to find any better."

Seem to have acquired Continental celebrity—p. 9.

In the graphic and circumstantial account of the assassination of the Duc de Guise in 1588, printed by Capefigue in his admirable History of the League,* it is mentioned that Henry III., after explaining to his friends his intention of assassinating the Duke that morning, and obtaining their concurrence, enquired which of them had poignards. There were eight present thus armed, of which that of Periac (an enthusiastic Gascon) was *a Scotish one*. In the attack made upon their victim it was not till struck by Periac in the small of the back that he uttered a piercing shriek for mercy, which reached the ears of his brother the Cardinal, who was confined in an adjoining room.

A body of the Clan Cameron under his second son Donald, &c.—p. 15.

The passage in Gordon's History is so curious, and so well illustrates the narrative, that it is here given.

"All these thinges wer concluded about this tyme at a great meeting of the Covenant-

* Capefigue's History of the League, Paris Edition, vol. v. p. 165.

ers in Saint Johnstoun ; to which meeting likewayes Argylle did invite and bring some of the Cheife of the Clan Cameron, specially Donald Cameron, (second sonne to Allan Cameron, Mack na Toiche [M'Ilduy,]) known commonly under the name of Donald Guirke, for having in his younger years (as the fame goes) stabbed a country neighbour upon some small disobligement, for the which barbarous act he is said to have been highly commended by his father Allan as ane hopefull youthe. Allan himself being too weall known for to have drivne that trade of throat-cuttinge amongst his neighbours in Lochaber, and a known sorcerer and avowed.

" That which engadged the Clan Cameron to Ardgyle was not anie antipathie that they had to the Bishops or Service-Book, &c., more than their neighbours the Ardgyle men, being that most of the people in these places are barbarouse, or if they incline to anie profession, it is mostly to Poperie. But the Clan Cameron joyned with the Covenanters in opposition to Huntlye's familye, to whom most of them are vassalls in Lochaber, and had been several times before crubbed by the Earles of Huntly by force of arms, which made them now glad for to lay holde upon anye occasion of revenge. Besyde this, Ardgyle had ane eye to these places, either to weackne Huntly, as seeing much of his greatnesse did consist in his Highland following, or if he could get a pretext for to gripp to Huntly's Highland laundes himself, as afterward he did. But all such at that tyme were welcome to the Covenant ; albeit, afterward, about the time of Charles II. his incoming, anno 1650, they changed their principles, and Argylle was accessory to the purging out as knowing and civill men out of the King's army, as either the Argylle men or the Lochaber men wer. Yet lett it be remembered that a pairt of the Clan Cameron at this tyme and long afterward, owned the King's quarrell, for most of the Highlanders are inclyned, being left to themselves, to be Royallists, happy, at least, though they have little learning, that they have not learned to distinguish themselves out of their loyalty by notions unknown till the latter ages."

It would also appear that some of the Clan Cameron assisted General Middleton, &c.—p. 15.

The authority for this statement will be found in the Appendix, No. III. This engagement is mentioned by Sir Robert Gordon, in his History of the Family of Sutherland. *Vide* p. 537, though nothing is there said of the Clan Cameron being present. Both in the Appendix and the last quoted work, it is mentioned that the Laird of Harthill was there made prisoner. Sir Walter Scott, in his notes to the Ballad of the Gallant Grahames, in the Border Minstrelsy, states that he could find no trace of the manner in which this gentleman was taken. He may now be considered as accounted for.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

The Camerons have a tradition—p. 1.

There are many anecdotes concerning the supposed founder of this family which the author's good taste and love of veracity has induced him to omit. Some of them will be found in the Life of Dr Archibald Cameron, published in 1753.

From the above John Ochtery—p. 6.

This paragraph and the subsequent list is taken from the imperfect MS. copy of the Introduction belonging to the Locheill family mentioned in the preface, and is not found in Sir Duncan Cameron's MS.

Macintosh of Kinraura—p. 7.

The Editor has been informed that a Latin MS., a copy of which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, entitled "De Origine et Incremento Macintoshiorum Epitome," but without any name, is the work here alluded to. From the very cursory inspection which he has been enabled to make, it appears (excepting as afterwards noticed) to coincide with the statements in the text.

If the Camerons had any other right, &c.—p. 9.

It will appear from a subsequent note, that the right of the Camerons was better founded than even the author supposes, and that the authenticity of the deeds under which the Macintoshes claimed the lands is somewhat doubtful.

I know that some of our historians, &c.—p. 12.

The late Mr Gregory, in his History of the Western Highlands, &c., has followed the author in making the Camerons the unsuccessful party in this celebrated conflict; but Mr Skene, in his work on the Highlands, contends that it must have been fought between

the Macintoshes and the Macphersons. The Editor cannot pretend to throw any new light upon this subject, but it may be observed, that the author wrote at a time when tradition was still universal in the Highlands; and the side allotted to the Camerons affords the strongest internal evidence of its correctness in the present instance. Had the Camerons been described as the victors, it would have been very different.

The Editor has been unable to discover any argumentative passage regarding this combat in the history of the Macintoshes above quoted, but, excepting the Clan Cameron and the "Glenchai," (who are mentioned as having fought at the North Inch,) no allusion is made to any other Clan with whom the Macintoshes were at variance at that period; possibly "Glenchai" may be an abbreviation for "Glen" or Clan Cameron; at all events, more dissimilar names are used as synonymous in Celtic history. It would be difficult, were we not otherwise informed, to recognise in "Ewen Allanson," "Allan M'Coilduy," or "Allan Mac-na-toiche," Ewen and Allan Cameron, or to discover that the Clan Vuirich were the Macphersons.

This duel happened in the time of Ewen his sone—p. 12.

It would be a curious coincidence of history with Sir Walter Scott's delightful fiction, if this combat actually took place immediately after the death of a great and celebrated Chieftain, and during the life of one who was not in any way distinguished.

Donald M'Ewen—p. 13.

The text here does not very clearly express, whether Donald the sixth chief was the younger son of Ewen the fifth Chieftain, or his younger brother. It appears more probable, that he was his younger brother, as he is generally mentioned in history as Donald Dhu M'Allan; and the text, though not very plain, seems to indicate that signification, so that probably M'Ewen has been a clerical error for M'Allan; but as the words supplied are inserted in brackets, the reader can form his own judgment upon the meaning and accuracy of the text. This Chief is the thirteenth in the genealogical account of the Camerons, given in Douglas's Baronage;—for the reason stated in the preface, it seems probable that the author is nearest the truth. Donald is also considered by some as the first who raised the Locheill family to the dignity of head of a Clan, though it is certain that they must have possessed considerable power and influence previously.

By her he had no issue, &c.—p. 14.

The following curious anecdote regarding these transactions, taken from the MS. history of the family of Mackenzie, already mentioned, will, it is hoped, form an acceptable illustration of the text. It is much to be regretted, that its commencement is awanting.

. . . . . .

" Womaa of little beautie. I believe the cause of his not marrieing her was for. . . . . Knew that Robert Duke of Albanie, then Governour of Scotland, intended to. . . . . any that would marrie her, haveing intentioun to settle that estate one his owne second son. When the Heretrix knew that she could not attain to her desire, she dissembled her grife, and made merrie till night. He haveing got to bed, when he was in sound sleep, she came and lay with him in the bed ; then her friends and servants came in with light, and cryed, ' Now, M'Kenzie, we are witnesses that thou art Earle of Ross !' He leaping from the bed . . . . . that he was not Earle of Ross, nor ever should be in that condition. Imediatly they laid hands upon him, and imprisoned him in a chamber within the Castle, took his speciall attender and tortoured him till he told them that [the] house of Islandonnan would never be rendered by M'Cauly, then Constable of it, till he would gett the ring that was about M'Kenzie's finger.

" Then they went to M'Kenzie and took the ring off his finger, which they sent immediatly with a partie to Ellandounan, as a sign to M'Cauly to render the Iland to that partie. When they came to [the] Ille, they presented M'Cauly with the ring, telling him that his master had sent them to receave the house ; that his master and their lady had agreed in all tearms for marrieing, and that he was to live with her within the Castle of Dingwall, till order would be hade for their marriage ; and that least he would pas from his condescendence, that they as the Heretrix' servants, were to keep his house, till the marriage were fulfilled in all requisite Ceremony of the Church. M'Cauly believing what they said to be true, because he got the ring, delivered them the house, but he hard the contrare when he came out, to wit, that his master was imprisoned, and that the ring was taken of him by force. Then he took beggar's apparel, and came to the Castle of Dingwall, sought almes under the window of the chamber where his master was imprisoned. His master, knowing his voice, looked out and asked what became of the house ? He told him he had delivered it upon the sight of the ring. Then he asked his master if there were any way of releveing him out of that prison ? He answered, that there was a crooked aver, one which the lady stoode ; if that aver could be apprehended, it might be it would relive him. He understood this aver to be Alexander Lesslie, the Laird of Ballnagown, the lady's ouncle ; he was ane aged man, and keeped himself privat in the house of Ballnagown. He did not come out but once every morning, that he came to a wood that was hard beside the house of Ballnagown, to retreat himself.

M'Cauly came home, gathered a partie that he knew to be faithfull to him, came straight to the wood of Ballnagown . . . . . the Laird timeous in the morning, he apprehended him . . . . . away with him. The alarm goes through the country, that the Laird was taken away; the country gathers, follows M'Canly, especialy the Dingwalls and Munroes. M'Auly, seeing them likely to overtake them, send away two of the men with the Laird, and stood with the rest of his men to defend a pass that was hard by, which pass was called from that day Balloch-en-Broigie, the pursuers being forced to lay their shoes one their hearts, to keep them from the arrows of the defenders.

"The two men that M'Auly sent with the Laird, hearing the fight begun, they thought it below their manhood to wait on the Laird, and therefore resolved to ty him to a tree in the wood that was hard by, and to take their part of the play with their commerads; and according to their resolutione, they did bind the Laird in the wood, and retired to the fight themselves; but at last M'Auly, haveing spent all his arrows, and the country gathering more and more against him, he was forced to quit the pass, and when he had quite himself of the enimie, he asked the two, what they did with the Laird? They answered, they left him bound in the wood. In the conflict of Balloch-en-Broig, the Laird of Killdin with seven score of his men was killed, and almost all the name of Monroe, having lost thirteen that was to succeed Lairds of famillies, ane after ane other. But M'Auly finding that they left the Laird in the wood, retires again to the wood, and by Providence finds the Laird where he was left. He makes hast away with him, comes to the marches of Kintaill, where he meets with fourthie men of the Heretrix, carrieing provision to the house. He putts them all to the sword, takes their burdens one his back, and one the back of so many of his company as he pleased to bring with him. The place where he apprehended them is called yett Aldnabalagan. Straight with these burdens, he and his company came to Ellandounan. Haveing his armes under his clothes, to play that Constable like for like, he cryed to open the gates, that they were wearied with long travell, that they travelled none but in the night, for fear to be apprehend[ed.]

"The sillie Constable thinking them to be the carriage-boys, letts them all have entries, but how soon they put of their burdens, they apprehended the Constable and such as he had with him. How soon M'Auly provided the house in all things necessary for a long seige, he sent word to the Heretrix, to deliver his master to his libertie from prisone, otherways he would hang her ouncle. The lady, seeing him obstinate, she did sett him at liberty, for to gett her ouncle back again. Of this, Alexander Lessly, the Clanlandrers got the lands of Ballnagown, and . . . . . How now they are called Rosses, I believe, is unknown to themselves . . . . . they have taken their surname from the country they live in.

"This Heretrix of Ross married the Lord of the Isles, for which he aclaimed the Earldom of Ross, which occasioned the battle of Harlaw, which was fought in the year 1411. When this lady's son Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earle of Ross, came to perfit

age, his mother being still ane instrument of mischeife, moved her son to vex his neighbours, which made King James the First come in persone to Inverness-shire. He apprehended Alexander in the year 1426. He brought him prisoner to Pearth, where he was accused of oppression, and many barbarous cruelties he used against the King's free subjects; but such was the King's clemancie in hopes of his amendament, that he released him. But benefits obliedges not ignoble mindes, for no sooner was he returned to his own territories, but interpreting imprisonment as a shame and dishonour to a man of qualitie and power, he gathered together a number of his people and came to Inverness, brunt the town, and beseidged the Castle. At the surmize of which all the well affected gentlemen of neighbouring shires gathered to armes, whilk moved him to disband and goe to the Isles, and from thence to Ireland; but the King preveened him, in setting a price one his head, and sending parties to keep all passages from him. At last he begann to interceed with his friends at Court. Sundrie did attempt the King's clemency, but he would not grant nor assure them of any favour, till Alexander in persone as a supplicant, would render himself and his estate to his disposure. This finding no way to escape, and being destitute of all help, he was emboldened to come to Edinburgh privatly one Ester day, wrapped in a mourning garment, and concealed amongst the multitude. The King comeing from the Church of Holyrood House, he fell prostrat at his knees, beseeching for grace; which at the requist of the Queen he obtained, for he gott his life and privat estate safe, providing he would doe no more harme. William Douglas, Earle of Angus, was apointed to keep him, and that within the Castle of Tantallan. His mother, that sturred him to all this mischeife, was committed to the Isles of St Colme."

Apparently, the Chronicler of the Mackenzies has fallen into some confusion regarding the exact lady who "set her cap" so unsuccessfully at Mackenzie.

The account given in the text corresponds precisely with that given in Tytler's History of Scotland, and the authorities there quoted.*

The name of the Heretrix of Ross, who married Walter Leslie, was Euphemia. Her son, afterwards Earl of Ross, was named Alexander; and her daughter, who married Donald Lord of the Isles, Margaret, or Mary.†

It would at first appear that it is of this Margaret that the anecdote was written, but it can scarcely be her, for the following reasons: 1*st*, The author says shortly after, "It made me write this passage of Euffam Leslie, and her husband and sone, to show how fortunate Alexander Imrich was in not marrying this woman." 2*d*, The Lady is called Heretrix of Ross, and is described as being in full possession of the estate, but this could not have been the Lady of the Lord of the Isles, who had not even a claim to the Earldom till the death or resignation of her niece, the deformed Countess, which did not take place till after her marriage.

* *Vide* vol. iii. p. 170.

† *Vide* Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 30.

The Mackenzie's lover must thus either have been the Lady who married Walter Leslie, or her grand-daughter, the deformed Countess, whose name was also Euphemia.

The mention of the battle of Beallich-ne-Broig favours the supposition that it was the grandmother, at least if we can suppose the engagement mentioned under that name, by Sir Robert Gordon, in his History of the Family of Sutherland,* to be the one here alluded to. On the other hand, the dreaded interference of the Duke of Albany certainly refers to the grand-daughter.

The chronicler has evidently confounded Alexander Earl of Ross, son of Euphemia, who married Walter Leslie, with Alexander Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, the son of her daughter Margaret, by her husband, Donald Lord of the Isles, who commanded at Harlaw, and thus attributed to the mother the ambition and misfortunes of her daughter.

Perhaps the most probable conjecture is, that the luckless heroine was the deformed Countess, who, after the bad success of her bold stroke for a husband, may be supposed to have retired in disgust from a world, where her wealth and charms made so slight an impression.

Donald Lord of the Isles, who being the sone, &c.—p. 15.

This seems to be a mistake, as both Tytler and Gregory consider Donald as the husband, not the son of Margaret. *Vide* the passages of these authors already quoted.

It is an indenture, &c.—p. 22.

The author seems here to have made an oversight, for in the copy of this indenture, inserted in the MS. History of the Macintoshes, already quoted, the allegiance of both parties is in a previous clause reserved to the King. The deed is, however, so confused and verbose, that the mistake is far from astonishing.

Angus Lord of the Isles—p. 23.

A clerical mistake for Alexander, (*vide* Gregory, p. 59.)

* *Vide* Gordon's History, p. 36, who gives the date about 1295, almost too early to have connection with any of the parties, but the circumstances are extremely similar; and from the vague manner in which the date is stated, it may not have taken place till many years subsequent to that period.

And procured from King James the Fourth a confirmation, &c.—p. 26.

This charter is mentioned in an old inventory still in the possession of the Locheill family, bearing the following title :—

"At Edinburgh, the xx. day of October, ye yeir of God M.D.lxiiii.
"Donald Dow M'Conall M'Ewen, Laird of Locheill, has left yir evidents and writtings underwritten, to Maister John Spens, burges of Edinburgh."

And bears date at Edinburgh, &c.—p. 29.

This charter is likewise included in the above mentioned inventory.

And overtook him at the end of Loch Lochy, &c.—p. 31.

Both Sir Robert Gordon in his History of the Family of Sutherland, (*vide* p. 110,) and Bishop Leslie, (*vide* p. 184,) mention that "Ewen Allanson" was present with his Clan in that engagement, and supported Clanranald.

But the Queen, upon application, &c.—p. 36.

This charter is dated 6th March 1563, and is contained in the inventory already quoted.

Macintosh mortgaged to Locheill—p. 44.

This contract appears, from another old inventory of the Locheill family, to have been dated 27th September 1593.

As appears by his letter to Locheill—p. 48.

This letter is mentioned in the inventory as "Item, ane letter from King James to Allan Cameron, wherein the King promeiss to free him of Macintosh, and that he hald all, and may hald this land of the King."

And left one of his own servants named [*Cameron*]—p. 51.

The word "Cameron," which is inserted in brackets, is deleted in Sir Duncan Cameron's MS., but is still legible. Whether the author was sensible he was wrong, or was unwilling to fasten the odium of this horrid cruelty upon a Cameron, must now remain uncertain.

But the generous Auchinbreck, &c.—p. 53.

This extraordinary anecdote must, as far as the Editor is aware, rest upon the authority of the author; it seems in the highest degree improbable.

That gentleman having by this drawn, &c.—p. 58.

It appears from a letter contained in the Letters and State Papers during the reign of James the First, presented by Adam Andersen, Esq., to the Abbotsford Club, that Macintosh's ostensible crime was, that a number of his Clan who were vassals of the Earl of Murray, believing that Macintosh, as their chief, was legally answerable for their conduct, had entered into a bond to do nothing without his sanction. This, however, having been interpreted as an act of disobedience to their feudal superior, Macintosh was imprisoned. In the above mentioned letter, addressed to King James the Sixth, dated 3d August 1614, he states these circumstances, and enlarges upon the hardship and difficulty of his case, and prays for liberation, which seems to have been granted. The history of the Macintoshes, however, like the author, ascribes his confinement to the Marquis of Huntly.

And died about the year 1647, *at a very advanced age*—p. 63.

It would be impossible to conclude the history of Allan M'Coilduy without giving the two following highly characteristic letters, which first appeared in Hailes' Memorials, and have since been quoted by various authors.

It appears that a party of the Camerons, having, in a predatory incursion, attempted to carry off the property of Grant of Moynes, were repulsed with considerable loss—and their aged Chieftain made the following explanation and apology.

"TO SIR JAMES GRANT OF FREUCHIE.

"Right Loving Cousin,

"My hearty recommendations being remembered to your honour, I have received your honour's letter, concerning this misfortunate accident that never fell out betwixt our houses, the like before in no man's days, but praised be God I am innocent of the same, and my friends, both in respect that they gi't [went] not within your honour's bounds, but [only] to Murray-land, where all men take their prey; nor knew not that Moynes was a Grant, but thought that he was a Murray-man, and if they knew him they would not stir his lands more than the rest of your honour's bounds in Strathspey. Sir, I have gotten such a loss of my friends, which I hope your honour will consider, for I have eight dead already, and I have twelve or thirteen under cure, whilk I know not who shall die or who shall live of the same. So, Sir, whosoever has gotten the greatest loss, I am content that the same be repaired to [at] the sight of friends that loveth us both alike; and there is such a trouble here among us, that we cannot look to the same for the present time, while [until] I wit who shall live of my men that is under cure. So not further troubling your honour at this time, for your honour shall not be offended at my friend's innocence,

"Sir,

"I rest yours,

"Glenlecharrig, 18th October 1645. Allan Cameron of Locheill."

"TO THE EARL OF SEAFORTH.

"Right Honourable Lord,

"I have received your Lordship's letter concerning the unhappy accident that is fallen betwixt the Laird of Grant's men and my kinsmen, which came to our loss, both unknown to me, because I was in Argyle in the meantime; for the Laird of Grant was the only man I love best in the North, because I came lately out of his house, and it [there] came no ill betwixt us sinsyne [since] till this unhappiness came lately; therefore, I am willing to refer it to friends that will wish our well both sides, and specially your Lordship be the principal friend there. But my poor friends had nothing but the defender's part, because they were in force to fight or die. Not to trouble your Lordship with many words to further occasion, committing your Lordship to God's protection, &c.

"Lochairkeag, the 27th October 1645. Allan Cameron of Locheill."

NOTES TO BOOK FIRST.

And were in the utmost surprize and confusion to see Glengarry, &c.—p. 104.

This singular anecdote certainly proves how much of Cromwell's success in the Highlands was due to the want of zeal, unanimity, and mutual confidence, among the Highland Chieftains. Glengarry is described by Sir Walter Scott, in his Notes to the History of Glencairn's expedition, as the very soul of the confederacy.

Others of them thrust their bayonets, &c.—p. 117.

The mention of bayonets here may be deemed an anachronism, but, in point of fact, according to recent German authorities, that weapon was invented about 1640. In all probability, it would be first tried in a country like the Highlands, where the lance or pike would be frequently found inconvenient. Pennant, in his sketch of Sir Ewen's life, states that bayonets were used at Achadalew, and he has never been contradicted.

This woman lived, &c.—p. 121.

One is almost tempted to exclaim, that this incident must have been borrowed from the onslaught made by Dame Glendinning and the faithful Tibbie upon the unhappy Euphuist in the Monastery.

He was much diverted, &c.—p. 122.

Can the tradition of the Kentish Longtails have penetrated to the Highlands? *Vide* Robin Goodfellow, reprinted for the Percy Society, p. 4.

One of them observing that a piece of beef, &c.—p. 123.

The whole annals of modern warfare do not present an instance of more perfect indifference to danger. The coolness of the seamen on board the Monarch at Copenhagen, who eat the provisions scattered by the Danish shot, was scarcely equal to it.

The astonishment of the Governour and his officers, &c.—p. 124.

Frightful as is the description here given of the wounds inflicted by the broadsword, it does not seem greater than is usually stated regarding such combats. It is mentioned by Plutarch, that the Greeks, after their first engagement with the Romans, were struck with a similar consternation when they saw the corses of their comrades fearfully mangled by the Roman scymitars.

But they did not know that there was as much art as strength, &c.—p. 125.

This description of the mode in which the Highlanders used the broadsword is new and curious; it is similar to that still practised by the Asiatics.

The day before from the Laird of MacNachtane—p. 141.

MacNaughtane was the name of a small but independent sept which has been settled in Argyllshire, from a very remote period, but their power and influence have long been absorbed by the Argyll family, from whom they differed most uniformly and decidedly in political principles. The last lineal descendant of this "ancient and honourable house" filled the situation of Collector of Customs at Crail or Anstruther, about the middle of last century, where he was celebrated for his agreeable and convivial qualities. As a memento of the former influence of his family, he got a fac-simile executed of a charter in favour of one of his ancestors in 12 , and which is still preserved in the Register Office. A copy of this he presented to Dr James Macknight, the author of the Harmony of the Gospels, who was understood to be of the clan, and in whose family it still remains. The newspaper which mentioned his death, and which the Editor has seen and quotes from memory, contains the following curious remark: "*This family having always been extremely loyal, is now consequently very low.*"

This is certainly not what is supposed to be the usual consequence of loyalty, though in Scotland it has generally held true.

This act is signed by General Monk, &c.—p 153.

There was an act passed in 1661, in favour of Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, which narrates that an order of the Council in power during the Usurpation had been issued for the payment of eighty pounds sterling per annum, for the support of the Clergy in Loch-

aber, and that Colonel Hill had also advanced them sixty pounds, which is thereby ordered to be repaid him. (*Vide* Thomson's Acts, vol. vii. p. 267, No. 287.)

Locheill enjoyed a profound peace, &c.—p. 162.

After the honourable pacification obtained by Locheill, he appears, as mentioned in the text, to have continued upon good terms with General Monk, and also to have obtained from Argyll the gift of the forfeited estate of Glengarry, which was bestowed upon that nobleman by the Committee of Estates.

Some years ago there was found among the loose papers in the Register Office a supplication by Locheill to the Committee of Estates, in which the services rendered by the Clan Cameron to the rebels are enumerated, and a request made for the gift of the estate of Glengarry. This supplication is mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in his Notes to Fountainhall's Diary, (*vide* p. 142.) The publication of the present work has been delayed for a considerable time, in order to obtain a copy of it, but it has gone amissing, and after a long and careful search has not yet been found.

In all probability, it narrates the circumstances connected with the conduct of Allan M'Coilduy, already explained, and was probably presented in concert with Argyll and Glengarry himself, in order to prevent the estate from falling into unfriendly hands. In support of this, it ought to be remembered, that Glengarry was put in possession of his estate at the Restoration, by an act simply rescinding the forfeiture. (*Vide* Thomson's Acts, vol. vii. p. 163.) But, wherever any difficulty was experienced in getting back estates so forfeited, the legislature passed severe statutes against the possessors; and an act of this nature was actually passed against Locheill for refusing to give up possession of part of the Marquis of Huntly's property. (*Vide* Thomson's Acts, vol. vii. p. 412.)

BOOK II.

And had that charter confirmed, &c.—p. 173.

It is the opinion of some eminent antiquarians, that the authenticity of the charter by King David, in favour of the Macintoshes, is dubious; but, it is perfectly inexplicable, that in all this dispute, no allusion whatever is made to the charter, dated 9th January

1527, granted by King James V. in favour of Ewen M'Allan, which contains the very lands in question.

From this the legal title of the Camerons seems quite clear. As the charter is very short, it is here printed.

CARTA EUGENII ALANI.*

Jan. 9, 1527.

"Jacobus Dei gratia Rex Scotorum omnibus probis hominibus totius terræ suæ clericis et laicis salutem Sciatis quia quadraginta mercate terrarum de *Glenlie* et *Locharcaig* cum demidietate balliatus de Lochaber et suis pertinen. jacen. infra dominium de Lochaber et vicecomitatum de Innerness quondam Alano Donald patri dilecti nostre Eugenii Alani hereditarie spectan. per eum de predecessoribus nostris, nostris in capite tente in manibus nostris et dictorum nostrorum predecessorum per spatium quinquaginta annorum ratione non iutroitus per decessum dict. quondam Alani exteterunt. Et nos nuper pro bono et gratuito servitio nobis per dictum Eugenium impresso et impendendo et pro certa compositione pecuniæ nostro thesaurio per eum nomine nostro pro firmis et proficiis dictarum terrarum cum demidietate officii ballivatus predicti et suis pertinen. de dictis terminis elapsis persolut. Dedimus et concessimus ac tenore præsentis cartæ nostræ damus et concedimus dicto Eugenio hereditarie totas et integras dictas terras cum demidietate hujusmodi ballivatus de Lochaber et suis pertinen. jacen. infra dictum nostrum vicecomitatum de Innerness. Tenendas et habendas totas et integras prædict. terras de Glenlie et Locharkaig cum suis pertinen. ad quadraginta mercat.: terrarum ut præmittitur una cum demidietate dicti officii ballivatus de Lochaber præfato Eugenio hæredibus suis et assignatis de nobis et successoribus nostris in feodo et hæreditate in perpetuum. Per omnes rectas metas suas et antiquas et demissas prout jacen. in longitudine et latitudine in boscis planis mosis marressiis viis semetis aquis stagnis molis pratis pasciis et pasturis molendinis multuris et eorum sequelis aucupationibus venationibus piscationibus petariis turbariis carboriis carbonariis lapicidiis lapide et callie fabulibus brassinis brueriis genestis cum airiis et earum enitibus herezeldis bludoytis et merchetis mulierum cum communi pastura libero introitu et exitu ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus proficiis assiamentis et justis pertinen. suis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam subtus terra quam super terram procul et prope ad prædict. terras cum demidietate dicti ballivatus officii cum pertinent. spectan. sui juste spectare valen quomodolibet in futurum libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace sine aliqua revocatione obstaculo contradictione seu impedimento quocunque. Red-

* Reg. Mag. Sig. Lib. xxii. R. 51.

dendo inde annuatim dictus Eugenius et hæredes et assignati sui nobis et successoribus nostris unum denarium usualis monetæ regni nostri in festo Penthecostes super solum dictarum terrarum nomine albe firme si petatur tantum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti cartæ nostræ magnum sigillum nostrum apponi precepimus Testibus Reverendissimo Reverendisque in Christo patribus Jacobo Sancti Andreæ Archiepiscopo Georgio Episcopo Dunkelden. Gavino Episcopo Aberdonen. nostrorum rotulorum registri et consilii clerico dilectis consanguineis nostris Archibaldo Comite Angusiæ Domino Douglas Jacobo Comite Arraniæ Domino Hamiltoun Georgio Comite de Rothes Domino Lesley venerabilibus in Christo patribus Patricis Priore ecclesiæ metropolitanæ Sancti Andreæ Alexandro Abbate Cambuskynneth dilectis familiaribus nostris Archibaldo Douglas de Kilspindy thesaurario nostro Magistro Thomas Erskine de Haltoun Secretario nostro et Jacobo Colvile de Uchiltre compotorum nostrorum rotulatore et nostri cancellarii directore. Apud Edinburgh nono die mensis Januarii anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo septimo et regni nostri decimo quinto."

On the 5th day of June thereafter, &c.—p. 175.

A clerical error for July. The act is dated 5th July 1661, and will be found in Thomson's Acts, vol. vii. p. 295. When the existence of the above charter is borne in mind, its terms are certainly puzzling. It contains a circumstantial narration of the disputes between Allan M'Coilduy and the Macintoshes, corroborating the statements in the text.

It was argued for Locheill the defendant, &c.—p. 176.

It seems most inexplicable, that no notice was ever taken in the course of the pleadings of the Charter in 1527, above printed.

And three hundred more, who had bows in place of guns, &c.—p. 188.

This is almost the last mention of the use of the bow in actual warfare.

Though he continued at Edinburgh, &c.—p. 197.

This paragraph is only to be found in the Cartsburn MS. ;—it is deleted in Sir Duncan Cameron's MS., and not in Mr Sharpe's.

For his Lordship having, without any resistance, &c.—p. 204.

It appears from the following letter, addressed by Argyll to Campbell of Kilberry, and which the present proprietor has kindly permitted to be printed, that so late as December 1678, Argyll found it necessary to maintain an armed force in Mull.

Dunstaffnage, 9th December 78.

Loving Cusen,

I desyre to be alse easie to your pairtie, and to provyde alse weele for them as I can, q'for, these are to desyre you not to cross at the Connel, but to quarter to-morrow at night in Benedraloch, quher I shall send you meall, and upon Friday morning I shall cause boats wait on you near Rownafynart, to cross you over to Lessmore, quher ye may quarter in warm housses till you and I goe together to Mull. I have sent to such of your pairtie as are alreadie crossed, to return to you.

I rest,

Your loving Cusen,

For Kilberrie. Argyll.

But Locheill easily extricated himself, by alleging, &c.—p. 204.

The supplication presented by Locheill upon this occasion is still preserved in the Register Office. It is, however, dated in 1669, some years previous to the period it is introduced in the text. The supplication is as follows:

(A.D. 1669, *Aug.* 24*th.*)

"TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF HIS MAJESTIE'S PRIVIE COUNCILL,

"THE SUPPLICATIONE OF EWINE CAMERONE OF LOCHEILL,

"Humblie Sheweth,

"That whair I and severalls of the gentlemen and others in Lochabbere, being cited to compeir before your Lordships in May last, upon a most groundles misinformatione givne by Alexander Macintosh of Connage, pretending that we had convocat to oppose his Majestie's forces, and your Lordships were pleased at that time, upone considerationes represented to your Lordships in a petitione givne in then, to dispense with the compearance of the multitud, upon your petitioner's undertakeing that a few of the gentlemen should compeire this day. In obedience whairunto, I have come with those gentlemen

to attend your Lordships' pleasour thairanent. As also, for further cleiring your Lordships anent our innocence of any such crymes, thair are witness present in toune, who, it's hoped, will verifie, that the occasione of our meitting was the slaughter of a countreman that happened at that time. And your Lordships haveing prorogat the day till the 8th of July next onlie; and seeing, that when I was attending your Lordships heere last, some of the nam of Macintosh takeing advantage of my absence, did commit a great depredatione upon a gentleman of my nam, whome I entreat to pursue before your Lordships, with all imaginable diligence, and which is impossible for me to insiste in till the first Councill day in Agust. Against which tyme, God willing, I shall attend your Lordships anent both the persuits.

"May it therefore please your Lordships, upon consideratione of the premiss, to dispense with any furthere compearance of the said gentlemen, who are now heere, upon my compearance, the said first Councill day of Agust; and if your Lordships pleases to examine the witneses who are heere, for cleiring the occasione of any meetting that was at the tyme of the alledged convocatione, as also to delay the said matter till your petitionere come to insist in the said persute, to be intented for the said depredatione. And in regaird that some of the persones that are guiltie and accessorie thairto are idle, louse vagabonds, who have no certaine residence; therefore, that your Lordships would be pleased to grant Letters in common form, for citing them at the mercat crosses of the head burghs of the shyres whairin they haunt, and your Lordships' answers, &c.

"Your Lordships' petitioner's protectione being expyred, it is humblie [craved] the same may be renewed till the said pursuits be discussed."

(*Marked on the back,*)—"Petitione the Laird of Lochill to Lords of his Majestie's Privie Councill, 24th August, 1669."

In the end, he demanded his sword, &c.—p. 205.

Sir Walter Scott, in his Tales of a Grandfather, narrates this anecdote somewhat differently, and postpones it to a later period of Locheil's life. His authority is Crichton's Memoirs, as published by Swift. (*Vide* Sir Walter's Edition of Swift's Works, vol. xii. p. 65.) There can, however, be little doubt, that the present version is the correct one.

It certainly tends to shew that it was not then the custom for Highland Chiefs to appear at Court in the Celtic garb.

This unlucky accident put him to no small trouble, &c.—p. 206.

The following extracts from Fountainhall's Decisions must allude to this.

"*November 14th*, 1682.—Complaints being exhibited against Cameron of Locheill and some of his clan, for sorning, robbing, deforcing, and doing violence and affronts to a

party of the King's forces, who came there to uplift the cess and taxation: The Lords ordained them to be presently disarmed of their swords, pistols, and skien-durks, and to be securely imprisoned."

"*November 30th*, 1682.—At Privy Council, Cameron of Locheill, mentioned 14th November, 1682, is fined, as the head of that clan, in L.100 sterling, for the deforcement and violence offered by his men to the King's forces, when they came there to exact the taxations, and three of them are referred to the Criminal Court to be pursued for their lives, as guilty of treason, for opposing the King's authority; the Clerk-Register became cautioner for Locheill. *This was done, as was thought, to cause him give way to Huntley's getting a footing in Lochaber.*"

How could men possibly respect laws so administered? Such hints as those throw more light upon the disorderly state of the Highlands than volumes of formal disquisitions.

Or to wish—p. 206.

"Or" must surely here be a clerical error for "not."

That the Earl of Braedalbane and Sir Ewen Cameron were in concert with Argyle, &c.—p. 212.

These suspicions were certainly proved by subsequent events to be ridiculous, and came with a peculiarly bad grace from the Marquis of Athol. But Locheil's known friendship and connection with the Argyll Family gave them colour; and possibly some correspondence may have taken place between Argyll and Locheill upon their private affairs. (*Vide* Fountainhall's Diary, p. 142.)

But Locheill, convinced that they were of the enemy, &c.—p. 213.

This unfortunate mistake subjected Locheill, as afterwards appears, to great inconvenience and suspicions; but it really appears to have been entirely accidental. It is thus mentioned by Fountainhall, in his Historical Observations, who terms it a "very sad and unwarrantable mistake."

"Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochyell's men, throw mistake in not understanding the word, being Irishes, at leist Hylandmen, fall upon a partie of the Perthshyre gentlemen, to the number of twelve, commanded by John Graeme, Postmaster, and under pretence of their being Argyl's men, (whether the mistake was innocent or wilful to get their spoyll,) they kill five of them, viz., Pearson of Kippen-Crosse, Paull Dog of Ballingrue, Linton of Pittendriech, Naper of Balquhaple, &c. This was a very sad and unwarrantable mistake, and deserved a severe rebuke." (*Vide* p. 177.)

Vide also Crichton's Memoirs, as above quoted.

And used him barbarously—p. 215.

Vide Fountainhall's Diary, p. 51.

He had the boldness to encounter Macintoish, &c.—p. 230.

This is remarkable as being the last great Clan battle which took place in the Highlands. It is also remarkable as being the first field in which Donald M'Bane, the well-known swordsman, made his appearance.

Donald's account of the engagement is too naive and graphic to be omitted. It may, however, be premised, that Donald, having no taste for literary pursuits, was bound an apprentice to a tobacco-spinner in Inverness, but finding himself scrimped of his commons by his mistress, he enlisted in Mackenzie of Suddy's corps. Upon Donald's first coming in sight of the Highlanders, he wished that he "had been spinning tobacco."

"Then both parties ordered their men to march up the hill. A company being in the front, we drew up in a line of battle as we could, our company being on the right. We were no sooner in order but there appears double our number of the Macdonalds, which made us then to fear the worst, at least, for my part, I repeated my former wish, (I never having seen the like.) The Macdonalds came down the hill upon us, without either shoe, stocking, or bonnet on their head; they gave a shout, and then the fire began on both sides, and continued a hot dispute for an hour. Then they broke in upon us with their sword and target, and Lochaber axes, which obliged us to give way. Seeing my Captain sore wounded, and a great many more with their heads lying cloven on every side, I was sadly affrighted, never having seen the like before. A Highlandman attacked me with sword and targe, and cut my wooden handled bayonet out of the muzzle of my gun; I then clubed my gun, and gave him a stroak with it, which made the butt end to fly off. Seeing the Highlandmen to come fast upon me, I took my heels, and run thirty miles before I looked behind me. Every person I saw or met I took him for my enemy."

The following letter, preserved in the Register Office, also alludes to these transactions.

Keppach, August 3, 1688.

My Lord,

I came to this place six dayes agoe, and the first two nights, these rebells in this countrey lay darned and did not appear, but since, they, with ther wicked accomplices and ther broken relations, from all the countreyes about, have convocate themselves to a great number, and doe behave themselves most contemptuously, insomuch that this same day, they have seased on some of the King's souldiers, and his Messenger-at-Arms dis-

armed, threatened and ffettered them. My friends and I are here making up a little fort, in which we are to leave some men for secureing me in my possessione, this being the only most probable means for reduceing the rebells, and had it not been for this, we had been at them ere now ; besides that the spates here are impassible ; but how sone as the waters fall, we hope to make accompt of them. All my concurrence from the severall shyres allowed by the Councell did faill me, except such of my own relations as are with me, and Captain Mackenzie of Siddy, and his company. The M'Phersones in Badinoch, after two citationes, disobeyed most contemptuously. I thought it my duty to acquaint you heirof, quhairby your Lordship may tak any course your Lordship pleases, by making it knowen to the Councill ; and I am,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) " J. Macintoshe

of Torcastell."

(Addressed)

" For the Earle of Perth,

Lord Hich Chancellor

off Scotland,

" *Edinburgh.* These."

The Macintoshes are always represented in the present Memoirs as supported by the law. They were, however, quite like their neighbours, in regard to the respect they paid to it. Spalding, in the commencement of his History, describes them as being guilty of one of the most diverting instances of greed, violence, and treachery, that was ever perpetrated.

To none but to James Cameron, &c.—p. 231.

One is almost again tempted to remark, that this incident must have been borrowed from Rob Roy.

BOOK III.

It is true, indeed, that some few Scotch Lords, &c.—p. 234.

Although the following letter, which was found among the papers belonging to the Family of Campbell of Kilberry, contains much that is private and unintelligible, yet it may not prove an altogether uninteresting illustration of the events alluded to in the text.

Edinburgh, May 1st, 1689.

Sir,

The day before the bearer came here, the Earl of Argyll, Skellmorlie, and Sir John Dalrymple, (the day before that,) went away to London with the offer of the Crown to King William. So soon as I got yours, I went instantly into the Convention, and caused deliver yours (which ye sent to Argyll) to Duke Hamilton, who instantly caused read it, and the enclosed orders were appointed to be sent to Loup and you. I think truly the case is hard, being poor merchandmen, and is supposed has no other design but trade, yet you must obey the States' orders; but I doubt not but you will be as sparcing of the poor men's goods and as discreet to them as you can. Kingstoun was here, and spoke to Duke Hamiltoun. I assure you I was at a deal of trouble in this affair, and the more with Clerks, because there was no money to be given them. The Convention is adjourned till the 20th instant; there are a great many forces comeing here from England, besyd what are come already. It is lyke if their be nothing to doe with them heir, they and more will goe to Ireland. I suppose ye may expect about five hundreth men from this to Kintyre shortly, if not more. General Major Mackay is gone North with some forces in pursuit of Dundee, but our news this day is, that Dundee, after he went to Murray, is upon his march back, for he could not get, (as is said,) even amongst the Gordons, anie to join with him. I shall add no more, but that

I am, your affectionate Cusing to serve you,

Jo. Campbell.

For Angus Campbell of Kilberrie.

He was a gentleman of good understanding, &c.—p. 237.

An ingenious article which appeared in the Dublin University Magazine, entitled "Last Days of Dundee," contains characters of the Highland Chieftains who fought with him at Killiecrankie. As the author does not mention his authorities, it is impossible to judge of their authenticity, but there is a remarkable contrast between these delineations and the text.

Leaving Mackay behind him in the North—p. 238.

The Editor believes that Mackay's Memoirs, and the other authentic accounts of this campaign, will be found to agree in general with the statements in the text; but it would be in vain to attempt to harmonize the descriptions of the various marchings and countermarchings which took place previous to the battle of Killiecrankie.

The Laird of Macintosh declaired for neither party, &c.—p. 240.

The conduct of Macintosh upon this occasion proves that Lauderdale was mistaken in the relative estimate he formed of Macintosh's and Locheil's loyalty. (*Vide* Appendix, No. III.)

But that General left no stone unturned to gain Locheill, &c.—p. 240.

Those who accuse Locheill, as has often been done, of self-interested motives in joining Dundee, would do well to peruse pages 18 and 19 of Mackay's Memoirs, and compare that passage with the account given in the text of Locheil's connection with the Marquis of Argyll. It is too long to admit of being quoted fully, but the concluding paragraph may be given:—"However, the General, during his abode in the North, having known the King's mind as to the Viscount of Tarbat's proposition, *wrote to Lochiel at two several times, but had no return, notwithstanding that he proposed fairly to him under the present government*; he wrote also to a gentleman, Chief of one of the Families of the Macdonalds, called Glengary, who returned him a civil answer, but instead of hearkening to his propositions, proposed to him the example of General Monk to imitate, who restored King Charles."

It thus appears, that Locheill might have had all he required from either of the Monarchs, and his demands being nothing more than a complete title to his own property, do not seem very exorbitant.

Before the Islanders, &c.—p. 240.

Somewhere about this time, it is mentioned both by Mackay, p. 24 of his Memoirs, and Lord Balcarras, that the Highland infantry, said to be commanded by Locheill, made a precipitate retreat from Mackay, who was then very strong in cavalry.

Two troopers in the meantime, &c.—p. 241.

(*Vide* Mackay's Memoirs, p. 30.)—The coolness with which this great military saint recommends (*vide* p. 240) that Provensall and Murray, two of the suspected dragoons, should be put to the torture, is truly edifying. This circumstance, when taken in conjunction with his determination to burn and destroy Atholl and the country of the Mackenzies, and his recommendation to extirpate the Lochaber men, (*vide* pages

102, 270, 271,) prove that his idea of the duties of a Commander were even more cruel than those of Dundee, who never upon any occasion recommended or practised either torture or military devastation. But according to the present enlightened ideas, what is the extremity of cruelty in a Prelatist and Jacobite, is quite proper and necessary in a Whig and Revolutionist.

During this march Keppoch, &c.—p. 242.

Dundee has been repeatedly accused of this act of severity, but the present vindication is entitled to some weight. Even had he authorized it, he would have been no worse than Mackay.

Two hundred of Sir John Maclean's Isleanders, &c.—p. 244.

Vide Mackay's account of this skirmish, pp. 38 and 39, in which he makes the loss of the Highlanders very severe. But whatever may have been the loss on either side, it contributed materially to raise the spirits of the Mountaineers.

Repulsing dragoons on ground where their horses could not act was, after all, no very astonishing feat; but so far from having that unbounded confidence in themselves that is generally attributed to them, the Highlanders, like all raw troops, felt considerable awe for their disciplined and completely appointed opponents, and were delighted to find that they could meet them upon any terms.

But Locheill, now past the sixtyeth year of his age, &c.—p. 250.

Locheil's opinion upon this subject, and description of the Highland tactics, is extremely curious. Perhaps it may not be uninteresting to contrast it with General Mackay's statement upon the same subject, who describes them as never fighting against regular forces, upon "any thing of equal terms, without a sure retreat at their back, particularly if their ennemies be provided of horse; and to be sure of their escape in case of a repulse, they attack bare-footed, without any cloathing but their shirts and a little Highland dowblet, whereby they are certain to outrun any foot, and will not readily engage where horse can follow the chase any distance. Their way of fighting is to divide themselves by Clans, the Chief or principal man being at their heads, with some distance to distinguish betwixt them. They come on slowly till they be within distance of firing, which, because they keep no rank or file, doth ordinarly little harm. When their fire is over they throw away their firelocks, and every one drawing a long broadsword with his

targe, such as have them, on his left hand, they fall a running toward the ennemy, who, if he stand firm, they never fail of running with much more speed back again to the hills." (*Vide* p. 51.)

How far the General was correct in his ideas may be gathered from the subsequent conduct of the Highlanders at Sheriffmuir, Prestonpans, Falkirk, and Culloden, all of which battles were fought upon open and level plains, without any hills in the rear of the positions.

But Alexander MacDonald of Glengarry, &c.—p. 259.

What a contrast is the present character and account of Glengarry to that which is usually given ;—indeed, it would seem that if the gallant and eccentric individuals who are usually denominated the last of the Chiefs, had appeared among their more cool and sagacious progenitors, they would have passed for little better than mountebanks.

Dundee kept the higher ground—p. 265.

This sentence is only to be found in the Cartsburn MS.

Discovered the body of their noble General—p. 269.

The account of Dundee's death here given tends to throw discredit on the authenticity of the letter he is alleged to have written after his wound, and in this the text coincides with the most accurate historians.

Now, if the reader will but reflect—p. 273.

This sentence is likewise only to be found in the Cartsburn MS. Lord Balcarras, however, does not say that Dundee made signs, but that he was in the act of riding to Sir Donald's battalion. But it may be observed, that as the MacDonalds were posted on the extreme left, Dundee, in riding to them, would have exposed his right, not his left side ; but there can be no doubt that the fatal shot was received under the left arm.

How singular that the MacDonalds here, without the slightest difficulty, took up that very position which, being assigned them at Culloden, was one of the principal causes of the defeat of the Highlanders.

But the death of Gilbert Ramsay—p. 280.

This singular and striking anecdote must, it is believed, rest upon the authority of the text. Ramsay's death seems, however, to have excited some attention, for it is mentioned by Mackay, p. 265, where he says, "both Dundie, Pitcur, one Ramsay, and others, were killed at the first onset."

The gallant Earl of Dunfermline's love for ardent spirits appears not to have diminished during the course of his campaigns. Mackay says, (p. 277,) "Colonell Cauan is in no reputation or esteem by them, for he and Dumfermling doe nothing but drink acquavity, as I'm informed."

But notwithstanding of all this—p. 275.

It is commonly supposed that Mackay was Dundee's fortunate competitor upon this occasion. But the account here given is so circumstantial, that it is probably correct.

He was much master in the epistolary way of writing—p. 279.

Possibly the account of the battle of Drumclog, which is the only letter of Dundee's which the Editor has seen, may have been an exception to his usual style. But a more wretched production, both in point of composition and orthography, was never penned.

I have been the more particular, &c.—p. 281.

This is the most circumstantial account of this remarkable engagement which has yet appeared, and seems perfectly well authenticated. From it it appears that the Highland Chiefs were even more uncertain than General Mackay as to the conduct of their troops, only the Highlanders took a different mode of animating their men. Locheil's going to every man in his Clan, and taking his solemn promise either to do his duty or die, may well be opposed to General Mackay's assurance, "that if they kept firm and close they should quickly see their enemys take the hills for refuge." (*Vide* p. 63.) We question if Donald M'Bane, or any soldier who had previously seen the Highlanders fight, would have received this as a *fact*, and he totally omitted to give any *reason* why their adversaries would act in this manner. Indeed, the General admits that when he thus confidently predicted victory, he had not had experience "*of their way of nor firmity*

in fighting," (*vide* p. 45,) and that his troops were not well trained or armed to encounter such an adversary, (*vide* p. 114.)

It also appears that it was solely owing to there not being a sufficient number of Highlanders to attack the whole of Mackay's army, that part of them maintained their ground for a short time. This circumstance has been very differently represented. Mackay gives an explanation which he concludes by saying it was partly owing to their being English, "preferring," he says, "the English commonality in my judgment in matter of courage to the Scots," (*vide* p. 59.) This is certainly candid, and the General is borne out by the fact, that at no period of their history did the Lowland Scots display so little courage as when fighting for Kirk and Covenant.

It likeways is proper to mention, that an old Highlander, in describing the engagement to Burt, (*vide* his Letters from the Highlands, vol. ii. p. 226,) says that there was an English regiment which the Highlanders did not care to attack;—the object of the shrewd old Celt was obviously to underrate the prowess of his countrymen, to render Government less anxious about their conduct.

But the truth is, nothing more thoroughly demonstrates the utter consternation into which both officers and men were thrown, than the fact that such a circumstance should have been reckoned any thing more than a bare and imperfect performance of their duty. Lord Balcarras is much nearer the truth when he says, that had they chosen they might have fallen on the flank of the Highlanders and defeated them. No one can read General Mackay's description of their retreat without seeing that they were quite as unfit to resist an attack as their slaughtered brethren, (*vide* p. 58.)

Whether this defeat was owing to an unreasonable and unmeaning panic, as is generally alleged, or, as has been occasionally hinted, to the men finding their weapons utterly unfit to encounter the Highlanders in close combat, is a question of no practical importance since the universal disuse of the sword and target in regular armies. But whether modern troops would have fared better may be judged of from the fact, that these cowardly and ill disciplined men (as they are usually called) killed more of their adversaries by three vollies than was ever done by a similar number during the whole of the last war. As to fixing the bayonet, the old bayonet, when fixed, was a much better weapon than the modern, (if there be any correctness in the laws of mechanical action,) and the Highlanders, *after receiving the last fire* of their opponents, gave their own fire, threw down their musquets, drew their swords and daggers, and adjusted their targets. If the regular forces could not fix their bayonets in that time, what is the use of attempting to train men at all? It is also much to be questioned if any of those columns, which in modern engagements are represented as being driven back so shattered and discomfited by the fire of their opponents, as to be physically unable to close, ever lost, like the Camerons, one half of their number.

The present Memoirs amply prove that the Highlanders themselves attributed their success solely to the superiority of their arms and mode of fighting.

At the battle of the Boyne the victors mustered 36,000 men, and lost about 500. The vanquished amounted to 33,000 men, and lost about 800, in all 69,000 combatants and 1300 killed. (*Vide* Dublin University Magazine, April 1842, p. 486.)

At Killiecrankie the Highlanders amounted to little more than 1800 men, their loss was 600; the Royal forces to about 3500, their loss 1800. The whole number of combatants being thus 5300, and the total loss 2400. That is, at the Boyne about one man in *fifty* fell; at Killiecrankie nearly every *second* man perished. Yet the *carnage* of the Boyne and the *skirmish* of Killiecrankie are expressions frequently employed by historians.

Donald M'Bane's account of the latter engagement may not be unacceptable to some readers. It is as follows:—

"At length our enemy made their appearance on the top of a hill. We then gave a shout, daring them, as it were, to advance, which they quickly did to our great loss. When they advanced we played our cannon for an hour upon them; the sun going down caused the Highlandmen to advance on us like madmen, without shoe or stoking, covering themselves from our fire with their targes; at last they cast away their musquets, drew their broadswords, and advanced furiously upon us, and were in the middle of us before we could fire three shots a piece, broke us, and obliged us to retreat. Some fled to the water, and some another way, (we were for most part new men;) I fled to the baggage, and took a horse in order to ride the water; there follows me a Highlandman with sword and targe, in order to take the horse and kill myself. You'd laught to see how he and I scampered about. I kept always the horse betwixt him and me; at length he drew his pistol, and I fled; he fired after me. I went above the Pass, where I met with another water very deep; it was about 18 foot over betwixt two rocks. I resolved to jump it, so I laid down my gun and hat and jumped, and lost one of my shoes in the jump. Many of our men was lost in that water and at the Pass."

Donald, who continued in the army, served in Flanders during the whole of the Duke of Marlborough's wars, and his adventures form the most naive and interesting autobiography of a private soldier that has yet been published, and certainly prove that the British army in those days was in a state of frightful moral degradation. Donald turned a most skilful swordsman, and his love for duels became so great, that he frequently fought four or five in a day.

He wound up his career by defeating, (when at the advanced age of 67,) in single combat, a young Irishman, who was then the champion swordsman of Great Britain. After this, Donald coolly remarks that he will fight no more, but repent of his former wickedness.

The details of this singular rencontre were recovered by the indefatigable Mr Chambers, and appeared in an early number of the Journal, and are here repeated.

"At the time Bane engaged the prize-fighter, alluded to in the last page of his life, it was usual for persons of that description, when expert in the art, to go from place to place bidding defiance to all opponents, and after remaining a certain time, if no one entered the

lists against them, either to extort a sum from the place, or compel the inhabitants of it to raise among them what the adventurer would accept as the price of his leaving them. O'Brian, the person alluded to, was then the most renowned champion of his profession, had beat all those at the Bear-Garden and elsewhere, wherever he appeared, and was dreaded by every one. He had then reached Edinburgh in the course of his gladiatorial circuit, and been in it for some weeks. The then Duke of Hamilton, jealous of the honour of his country, as no one appeared as its champion, had sent for Bane, with a view of learning from him if any one could be got to take up the then formidable bravado, and happened, when Bane arrived at Holyroodhouse, to have with him the Field-Marshall, John Duke of Argyle, the latter of whom, as an old brother soldier, took upon him to introduce the matter by shortly telling him how things stood, and adding, that unless O'Brian was matched soon, as that day was the last of those in which he had paraded the streets of Edinburgh, bidding defiance to its inhabitants, and to all Scotland, at any weapon whatever, he would leave the city in all probability in another week or so, but not until he had obtained a purse of money, as usual at other places, by way of reward for his stay, and for not affording him any opponent to try his skill. Has he a drum? said Bane. Yes, said the Duke, and a devilish clever strong fellow he is. You may make yourself easy as to that, says Bane, for I have broken his drum already, which was literally the case, for meeting him at the foot of the West Bow, and hearing to an end his bravado speech and intimation of defiance, Bane could no longer command his usual spirit, but forgetting his years and the consequences, he drove his foot through the bottom, and at same time his fist through the drum-head, which of course produced a challenge and acceptance from Bane and O'Brian, to fight it at that day week, which accordingly took place, as stated in the last page of his life. The stage was erected in St Ann's Yards, at the back of the then Palace Bowling-Green, and at the end of conflict, was nearly covered with gold and silver, thrown on it by the spectators, to reward Bane for his courageous conduct in overcoming at the small sword, broad sword, back sword, fauchion, &c. Bane, it is said, was advised by the Duke, as his adversary was most formidable, to keep himself for a few days sober, by way of preparing him to meet his antagonist with the best prospect of success. This advice it is said he followed, by keeping himself intoxicated, at the expense of a sum of money bestowed upon him by way of earnest by their Graces, till the very morning in which he had to meet his hitherto unvanquished opponent. His dissipation, however, had no other effect than to render him on that occasion more steady and attentive, and the spectators, who were numerous of all classes, and many of whom had witnessed similar conflicts in various parts of the world, all declared that Bane's exertions, considering his years, outdid every thing that was looked for from such a veteran, when opposed to such a hitherto unvanquished conqueror, and a man of the agility, strength, and years of his antagonist, in a trial of skill that lasted for several hours."

The pencils of our national painters have been employed upon less characteristic subjects, than in depicting the athletic form of the hoary and enraged veteran demolishing

the drum, and the astonishment of the Irishman and his assistant at seeing themselves thus bearded.

It is true their loss did not exceed thirty men, &c.—p. 283.

General Mackay states the loss of the Highlanders at 120 killed, and 30 prisoners. (*Vide* p. 64.)

Many of the Highlanders were wounded, but not above 18 *or* 20 *killed*—p. 287.

The details of this action have been very differently given, but the text seems as well authenticated as any other statement. Mackay agrees with the author in the number of the Highlanders killed, but accuses them of bad behaviour. (*Vide* p. 70.)

An account published from a contemporary MS., in an early number of Blackwood's Magazine, admits the great determination of the Highlanders, and states their loss at 300 or 400 men. This account also mentions the foolish anecdote about the Highlanders declining to engage with fiends, which has been so often repeated, but says that it was picked up merely as a report, by some prisoners who had escaped from the Highland army, and who, in all probability, did not understand Gaelic.

In fact, although the Cameronians certainly performed their duty well and steadily, yet nothing but the extreme dread which the Highland claymore inspired all those who came near it, could ever have magnified the defence of Dunkeld into the brilliant affair it is usually reckoned. Those who dilate upon the great gallantry of the Cameronians have omitted to take any notice of what Mackay states on p. 69, viz., "The enemy had not such prejudice at any of the forces as at this regiment whom they call the Cameronian Regiment, *whose oppression against all such as were not of their own sentiment made them generally hated and feared in the Northern countries.*"

And Locheill, whose age, wisdom, and experience—p. 291.

Locheill is represented by Mackay as one of "the wisest of them whose cunning engaged others." (*Vide* p. 18.) The present speech is shortly stated by Lord Balcarras, but is not in every respect marked by Locheil's usual sagacity. No one ever doubted the extent and magnificence of King James' promises; it was his performance of them (should he ever have possessed the capacity) which formed the true difficulty.

He either was, or politically appeared to be—p. 297.

None of Mackay's letters hitherto published bear any reference to the subject here alluded to; but it may be remarked, that he considered that there existed no essential difference between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, and regretted that the cause of Protestantism should suffer from such unmeaning dissensions. (*Vide* p. 288 and 292.) It is however possible, that being, from his long residence abroad, but little acquainted with the feelings of the Highlanders on these subjects, he may have mistaken Catholics and Episcopalians for violent Presbyterians, and addressed them in a style more in accordance with their supposed prejudices than his real sentiments.

He was in such a consternation, &c.—p. 298.

Mackay's behaviour after his defeat has generally been considered extremely cool and self-possessed; but even by his own account, he never halted till he reached the Laird of Weem's house.

In the first of these letters—p. 316.

All these letters have been already printed. The present narrative of the Massacre of Glencoe, which is very minute, certainly confirms the assertion, (which has been sometimes made,) that it was the intention of Government to extirpate the Highlanders, by the same fiendish combination of treachery and cruelty.

Nothing can be more erroneous than any attempt to justify this atrocious massacre, by comparing it to the letters of fire and sword, which were so common in the preceding reigns.

These letters, though often issued, were seldom executed, and when they were put in force, loss of life was scarcely known. The forces appointed to execute them approached the country at a proper season and in a hostile manner, so that the inhabitants had time to make their escape, and carry off their cattle and valuable goods. The burning of their wretched hovels was scarcely reckoned an inconvenience, and the destruction of their scanty crops a much milder punishment than had they been forced to raise a sum of money. Not to mention that Glencoe, having complied with the terms, was entitled to the benefit of the indemnity.

The simple fact that men accustomed to the system of letters of fire and sword viewed the Massacre of Glencoe with horror and detestation, ought to convince the most sceptical that there existed an essential difference between them.

It appears from the account given of the unfortunate Glencoe's death, that Highland Gentlemen then wore the Lowland costume.

He often sent him complements, &c.—p. 332.

This sentence is only to be found in the Cartsburn MS.; it is deleted, but still legible.

Donald on the other side—p. 334.

From the description of this singular dispute, it appears that to enable the combatants to meet on equal terms, the Highlander had laid aside his target, thereby depriving his mode of fighting of half its efficiency—a virtual acknowledgment that against sword and target the sword alone has no chance.

*** The Editor regrets that upon p. 28 of the Introduction he has inadvertently styled Allan Cameron Locheil's second son, while it appears from p. 203 of the text that he was his third, but of the second, who it is believed was named Donald, no particulars have been learned.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

MEMOIR REGARDING THE STATE OF THE HIGHLANDS.—1716.

[This curious Document is written in an old-fashioned hand, and marked on the back, "Copy Fraser's Scheme for Civilizing Scotland."

It has been attributed, by very competent authority, to the pen of the celebrated Lord Lovat; and there are certainly many circumstances which render this conjecture far from improbable. On the other hand, the whole tenor of Lord Lovat's life was so decidedly opposed to the maxims enforced in the present Memorial, that to consider him the author would be to suppose him endowed with an almost incredible degree of duplicity.

During his last moments, he was much more annoyed by the passing of the act abolishing heritable jurisdictions than by the ruin of the Stuart Family; and nothing seemed to give him so great consolation as the idea that he was one of the greatest Chiefs in the Highlands. His conduct to his vassals, within a few years after the date of the present Memoir, may be judged of by the following extract from Burt's Letters:—

"This Chief does not think the present abject disposition of his Clan towards him to be sufficient; but entertains that tyrannical and detestable maxim, that to render them poor will double the tye of their obedience; and, accordingly, he makes use of all oppressive means to that end. To prevent any diminution of the number of those who do not offend him, he dissuades from their purpose all such as show an inclination to traffick, or to put their children out to trades, as knowing they would, by such an alienation, shake off at least good part of their slavish attachment to him and his family. This he does (when downright authority fails) by telling them how their ancestors chose to live sparingly, and be accounted a martial people, rather than submit themselves to low and mercenary employments, like the Lowlanders, whom their forfathers always despised for the want of that warlike temper which they (his vassals) still retained."—(*Vide* Burt's Letters, vol. i. p. 57.)]

It being the present thoughts of them at the helm of affairs, how to reduce the Scots Highlanders, who have been the principall instrument of the late unaturall rebellion,

from their ignorant, barbarous, and warlik disposition, to a state of knowledge, industry, and obedience, I think myself bound in duty, as a sincere weell-wisher to the established Government, and the regard I have for my native country, to accquaint and inform them of the true and reall causes of the misery of these wretched people, the reasons of their being made the instruments of all rebellion, and what infallible remedies may be presently applyed, which will tend to their own benefit, the improvement of their country, and the perpetual peace and tranquillity of the whole Iseland.

In the Highlands there are a great many Lords and Chiftains, who have lands feued out by contract and charters to their vassalls, in which *redendos* the vassall is bound (besides a feu-duty of money) to give his superior personall service, with all the fenceable men of the land under armes, at all hostings and huntings, and to attend him upon all his honourable occasions, with a great many other obligations and hardships, only fitted to these barbarous times, and too long here to be narrated.

Here are so many heretable collonells, and yea severalls of them brigadeers, who have their brigads, their whole officers and souldiers listed by contract, not only to themselves but their heirs, can bring them together at their pleasure, and commonly are served and followed by them in all mischievous expeditions, without their asking any questions.

It must be acknowledged, indeed, that these hostings, huntings, and being bred to the use of armes, were long necessary before the Union of the Crouns; since the Scots were never capable to maintain regullar forces sufficient to defend them from so powerfull a nation as the English, who were frequently in war with them. But since this cause is happily removed, and that there is a regullar army now mantained, at the charge of the whole Iseland, I do not see the reason why any of the remains of these (now destructive) barbarities should longer subsist, or power left in the hands of any subject ever to revive them. But I return from this digression, and proceeds.

Ane other handle these great ones have for oppressing their vassalls and kinsmen, and thereby forcing them into their measures, is, that severall have great jurisdictions, where their own and their whole vassalls' lands are erected in regallities, stewartries, and bailliaries, where the Lords and Gentlemen install what judges they think proper, and these fittest for their purpose.

In these barbarous countries, where there are few people of education, or any that has the least knowledge of law, except their patron's direction and pleasure, the judges are commonly ignorant and partiall; they have neither councill nor acturnies, or the least form or order in their courts. Nothing there to be seen but parties with their armed friends and relations at their backs, of purpose that the judge may regaird them, and proportion his justice to their capacity, in either serving his Worship or my Lord; but when the plea chances to be betwixt this great man and any of his vassalls, or their tenants, justice is then enteerly laid aside, there being a long list of contumacies, fines, inact-

ments, breach of lawborrows, &c. always treasured up against the day that my Lord or Chiftain has some notable piece of service to be done, which, when proposed, the poor gentleman thinks himself straitned, either out of duty to some neighbour concerned, or out of conscience, not being convinced of the lawfullness of the thing, immediately the Bailly and Forrester (that Court of Inquisitors) are called, the former with the extracts of their court books, and the latter with a bundell of bonds, that from time to time the poor man was obliged to give for his beasts straying into the forrest, which charge altogether commonly amounts to more than the value of his escheat, so that by the male administration in these judicatories, these miserable and much to be lamented persons are either necessitat to give obedience to their superiors, (though never so unjust commands,) or that moment their cattell and domicell are poinded and distressed, and themselves, wives, and children, left in a desolate and starving condition.

A third great handle these superiors have for oppressing their vassalls and kinsmen, and thereby forceing them into their measures, and of worse consequence for disturbing the publick peace, than any of the former, is their forrests. When any of these great men has any designe, either against the government or his neighbours, immediatly he appoints a great deer-hunting, where, besides his own vassalls and their tennants, who are bound to be present, he invites a great many people of all ranks in the neighbourhood fittest for his purpose, and whom he thinks to hook into his measures, which invitation imports their bringing all their fenceable men under armes, where there is a great emulation betwixt every clan and familly, he being esteemed the hero of the hunting and the great man's favourite, who appears most formidable and gay in his number, armes, and apparell. Thus these huntings are the pretext, when treason is may be the purpose, and where they have the opportunity not only to lay the plot and contrivance, but also to view and see the materialls fitt for putting the same in execution.

If any of these neighbouring clans or famillies should chance to be so busied in time of harvest, or about any other affairs, so as that he cannot gratify this great man in giving obedience to his invitation, immediatly the Lord or Chiftain's forrester is called for to range his whole bounds and forrest, that he may get hold of some of the recusants' cattell, (it being impossible to hinder promiscuous feeding in these barren mountains,) which are immediatly taken and made escheat of, so that the poor gentleman is obliged to address himself to the Lord or Chiftain, and is frequently obliged to attend severall days before he obtain the favour of ane audience, and at last is forced to ransom them with a sum of money, besides his faithfull promises of future service and obedience, so that the forrest serves all turns, is one of the certain reasons why all ranks of people in the Highlands keep up the use of armes, and is one of the greatest occasions of inslaveing the inferior people; and all this to gratify the ambition and vainglory of a few great men, who are hereby capacitate, at their pleasure, to disturb the peace of the Commonwealth.

All these horrible oppressions of the great ones by their superiorities, jurisdictions.

and forrests, keep not only the common[s,] but the whole body of the gentry, in extream want and poverty, which makes them desperat, and is the grand reason why they are so apt and ready upon all occasions to be fond of rebellions or any insurrections, whereby they have a fair chance to better their fortunes, whereas no disaster that can befall them will much wors their condition. Meantime, these great men themselves swell from the degree of subjects to be petty princes; they must be hired to do their duty, and their haughtienes and clame to their Prince's favour is allwayes proportioned to their capacity of giving disturbance to the Government.

It has been certainly a great oversight in former reigns, where many, if not all these great famillies, at some time or other, have been forfeited for rebellion, that their estates and dependencies were not annexed to ye Crown, rather than given (as was allwayes the custome) to gratiefy the ambition of their then prevailing neighbours, which made the cure much worse than the diseases, as grace goes not by generation, neither does loyalty, so that one king's bounty to a loyall subject has frequently been found to be a mortall weapon in the hand of his rebellious son.

I shall not presume (since I believe it needless) to give caveat at this juncture to so wise and sharp-sighted a ministry from splitting on the foresaid rock. There will not be want of aboundance of people in the Highlands, that upon the old score will at present plead merit, and endeavour to agrandize their famillies upon their neighbour's ruin; this is but grafting and propagating a new imp of rebellion, where the old rotten branch was cutt off, in preferring a privat person's interest to the publick good, and will be wholly inconsistant with the following (and I may say infallible) propositions.

There is yet ane other most hellish pollicy made use of by these great Lords and Chiftains for keeping the whole commons, and vast numbers of the meaner gentry, allwayes in their primative state of ignorance and barbarity; and that is their discouraging schoolls and learning in their countries, as also the gentlemen from breeding any of their sons to trades, they being perfectly convinced that the former of these might instill in them some of the principalls of Christianity, which would be ane utter destruction to all their schemes and purposes, and the latter would let them see so much of the world, that they could never again think of subjecting themselves to so unsupportable a yoak.

These people being keept industriously thus ignorant, their whole conversation runs upon martiall achievements, deer-huntings, and even valuing themselves upon their wicked expeditions and incursions on their innocent Low Country neighbours. They have all got a notion and inviollable maxim handed down to them from their forefathers, that they being the only ancient Scotsmen, that whole nation belongs to them in property, and look on all the Low Countrymen as a mixture of Danes, Saxons, Normans, and English, who have by violence robed them of the best part of their country, while they themselves are pened up in the most mountaineous and barren parts thereof to starve, therefore think it no injustice to committ dayly depredations on them, makeing thereby conscience to interrupt their illegal possession, (as they call it,) in case it should prescribe

into a right. There are severall Lords and Chiftains (to my knowledge) who wink and connive at this Anti-Christian principall and practice, since they know it does not a little contribute to keep up the warlike disposition of their followers. The reason why I narrate this foolish (though reall) story is, because thereby the Government may be informed of the genius and inclination of these people, as weell as the efficient causes thereof, that they may be the more capable to apply fitt remedies, to eradicate every simptom of so mortall a gangerine in the Commonwealth.

The cause of my knowledge that the foresaids are all matter of fact, and the true reasone of all the disorders in these countries. I was born and bred in the Highlands, and have lived there the most of my time. I have with much regrate been eye witness to repeated instances of the most of all the above narated grivances, has travelled through most of the high countries and iselands, and finds the same maxims for tyranny and power in the great ones, ignorance, irreligion, and poverty amongst the inferior ranks, generally to prevaill through the whole.

It is humbly proposed, that the whole superiorities in the Highlands and northern counties of Scotland (which is the source of all the maladies) be enteerly taken away, and all persons to hold immediatly of the Crown.

That these superiors who have continued firm in their duty to the Government may have a pecuniall mulct, equivalent to the value of his feu-duties and other emoluments, to be paid to him, either by the Government (the vassall paying the usual *redendos* yearly to the Exchequer) or by the vassalls, and they freed of the said yearly payments, whichever of these the wisdom of the nation thinks fittest.

That the Crown may come in place of the forfeited superiors, and that their vassalls may pay the usuall feu-duties and other emoluments yearly to the Exchequer.

It is also proposed, that the whole heritable jurisdictions in the Highlands, such as regallities, stewartries, &c., be taken away, equivalents being given to those that have continued in duty as said is, that hereafter all the leidges without distinction, both in criminall and civill actions, be judged by the Lords of Session, Lords of Justiciary, Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace.

It is further proposed as to the forrests, that all the forrest deer in the nation shall be destroyed and extirpat, it being most evident that so long as there is any alive in those places, there will be allways huntings and convocations, with all their bad consequences, and the samen will still be a handle, and give great atitude to the great persons, (who are keepers thereof,) not only to oppress the whole neighbourhood as is above narrated, but will allwayes force and oblige them into their measures ; this matter will be the more easie performed, that there is no emolument due by the King to these forresters, since they are only but heretable keepers, the propriety of the deer still remaining in the Crown ; but granting there were some consideration due them, it is in his Majestie's and the parliament's power to dispone to those who have continued firm in their duty to the Government the heritage of the ground, (formerly their forrest,) to be improven and

disposed off as they have a mind. As for the other forrests, which the keepers by the late rebellion have forfeited, the Government can sell and dispose of them by apretiation in different parcells to all the adjacent heritors, according to their contiguity, or other wayes, as they think fitt. It is true these forrests were usefull for the diversion of the Scottish Kings before the Union of the Crowns, when their perpetuall residence was in that nation; but now since our Kings does and will allwayes reside in England, I know no manner of use for them; neither do I think it consists with the peace or safety of the iseland, that there should be the least vestages left of any thing that does so much propagate the old Scottish barbarity and oppression.

Hereby all in these parts will be equally free-born subjects, and no man will depend one aneother, neither does it occur, how it can be in the power of any person (these forementioued causes being removed) to commit any such hardship upon his neighbours, as to force him into any measures but what his own naturall inclination and duty will incline him.

If these people were but once possest of the advantage of freeholding, and that the hade payed out some money as ane equivalent for their feu-duties and emoluments, it would not only tend greatly to the improvement of their interests and country, but be a guaranty against the interest of any Popish Pretender to the end of the world, (just as that of disposing of the church lands to the laity at the Reformation was the only effectuall means of keeping out Popery,) since these Highlanders most certainly concludes that, upon any such unhappy revolution, as a Popish Pretender his comeing to the throne, that all the maxims of this Government would be overturned, the forfeited great ones restored, with greater immunities and privileges than ever, and, consequently, see themselves stript of their independancy and freedome, and re-installed in their primative state of slavery and misery. I am so much convinced, as said is, that this will be so effectuall a guaranty, that, on the other hand, (though armed and in a power,) they would fight to the last drop of their blood for their liberty, and for the established Government that protected them in it.

It is likewayes proposed, that the whole Highlands and north country of Scotland be immediately disarmed, and that there be ane act of Parliament made, that no man in these countries ever hereafter shall carry or make use of any, under such pains as the wisdome of the Government shall think proper, with ane exception of a small walking sword, and foulling-pieces to gentelmen of estates. That there be so many of the Justices of the Peace or others in every county appointed to see this law put in execution, with strict directions (the disarming being once over) that the transgressors be punished without any mercy. This will be the finishing stroak to put ane end to all rebellions, oppressions, chieftancies, depredations, huntings, dependancies, family feuds, and every disturbance whatsomever, and the vast time formerly spent in these useless and vitious employments, all clear gained for to be used in industry, policy, and the improvement of the country.

There is one thing yet to be proposed, which is absolutely necessary for compleating

this great and worthy designe, which is, that the Government should give encouragement for setleing schoolls and seminaries of learning in that (hitherto so much neglected) part of the world.

The Scots Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge have laid a noble foundation, and have already made provision for severall schoolmasters, but the extream poverty of these countries makes it necessary there be a fund appointed for maintaining poor children, before that charitable and Christian design can be brought to any perfection.

This Memoir might have been mad full and correct, if there had been more time to goe about it, being only the product of the spare hours of two or three days. In case there be objections made 'gainst all or any of the propositions, the author is willing to confer with any person upon the subject, and expects to give him full satisfaction, or if there be any proposall by the Government for that design, not contained in this paper, he shall give his sincere thoughts of the feasibility, and make what remarks and improvements thereon lies in his power; but the author is not to be detected or known.

No. II.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER—MR DRUMMOND OF BOCHALDY TO MR EDGAR.

Paris, 31*st May* 1747.

Our good friend Lord Lovat is indeed no more! His Majesty has lost in him ane able and zealous asserter of his just rights, one of the best heads and hearts that was in his dominions; his country has lost one of the greatest and best patriots it had at any time, and his relations and intimate acquaintances a most faithful friend in all their necessities and wants. There have been many exceptions made against his character, which the necessities of the times, and the particular unhappy situation of his family at his setting out into the world, can only account for. But to consider his whole life in gross, we must allow him to have been one of the ablest men, of the soundest head, firmest mind, and best heart, that our country has at any time produced; one who never lost the point he had in view, whose surprizing presence of mind, in all events, gave occasion to his seizing opportunities of succeeding in things by the ablest thought impracticable, and quite out of the sight of the common rate of mankind. His equality and rather cheerfulness than dejection of mind in the last days of life, and the easy civil behaviour with resignation, with which he became a sacrifice to his duty and the royal cause, have reconciled the world to him. Every mortal is now satisfied that his sentiments were always the same, equally just and honourable, and that the innumerable difficulties he

had to conquer in the settlement of his clan and private family, made it necessary to cover them, by means that often rendered his character equivocal in the eyes of the world. We have now only in lieu of him his son, a youth of sense, spirit, and application, bred up in right sentiments, which I am hopeful will not be perverted by the trials he undergoes, or the designing artful wickedness that now surrounds him. If he could be recovered out of their hands, I am certain it is firmly inculcated by his father that he trust, and be absolutely directed in every thing by your friend Walker.*

As for the infamous Secretary,† you mention he is so low and now so publick a traitor, that he cannot but appear to have been a disgraceful instrument in the hands of Credon‡ and Trebby,§ the first so blinded with the furious ambition of governing his young master and his affairs, that he appears to have choose to see our unhappy young Prince perish, and all nature with him, rather than that the world should doubt of the ascendant he had over his mind, at the same time that he wished, I believe, seriously a restoration; but such a one as would have laid the foundation of endless miseries to our unhappy island. The second, who now succeeds by the influence the first had, is a monster of a quite different turn; trick, falsehood, deceit, and imposition, joined to these qualities that make up a thorough sycophant, such as fawning on every one he knows, particularly those he hates most, and never contradicting or opposing any man's opinion, are the rules of his policy: but so silly and dreaming, that in his desire of entertaining or pleasing either himself or those he happens to be with, however hated by him, he drops imperfect insinuations, from which, in a few days, you gather all he has in his heart; and such a fool, that in companys where he thinks himself safe of his country people, he insinuates that it is not their interest there be any restoration while the King lives, which he says cannot be long, and thus introduces the Prince's health. One of these entertainments he dayly frequently happened to be later at noon than ordinary at my Lady Redmond's house, which occasioned the Lady Kenmare visiting there, and her being introduced to the company, before dinner was over; she soon after was surprized and shocked to hear them begin the Prince's health after dinner without mentioning the King. Her Ladyship could not bear it, and said it was new to her to see people forget the respect due to the King. Kelly immediately answered, Madam, you are old-fashioned: these fashions are out of date. She said that she really was old-fashioned, and hoped God would preserve her always sense and duty enough to continue so; on which she took a glass, and said, God save and preserve our King, and grant him long life and a happy reign over us.

Murray's evidence is now become less to be dreaded than at first; the many lies he has mixed with some truths are so glaring, that even Hanoverian English begin to blush to lay great stress on what he says. This renders our apprehensions less on a certain subject I wrote to you of.

* Drummond here means himself. † Murray. ‡ Sir Thomas Sheridan. § Kelly.

Lord George Murray is not yet arrived here. I am hopeful we will find in him, when he does arrive, some thing equal to the character men of best sense and greatest spirit were in the Prince's army give of him.

No. III.

THE TRUE INFORMATION OF THE RESPECTIVE DEPORTMENTS OF THE LAIRDS OF MAKINTOSHE AND OF EVAN CAMERON OF LOCHZEILD, IN REFERENCE TO THE LATE UNNATURAL WARRS.

1. *First,* As to Mackintoshe his deportment in time of the intestine warrs, (although hee was unable for the feilds by reason of his bodily infirmity, yet) hee assisted the King's cause, by his kinsmen and followers, according to his power, for three hundred or thereabouts of the specialliste of his kinsmen, vassalls, and tennants, were constantly with Montrose in most of his expeditions, and were the first family in Scotland that joyned with him in that service, and stayed constantly with him till hee departed the kingdome, and in the year 1648 Makintoshe (for his loyalty) was intrusted with the Garrison of Inverlochy.

Item, Evan Cameron of Lochzield, during the time aforesaid, did constantly adhere to the late Marquis of Argyle, and his tutor, kinsmen, and followers, were so far ingaged against the King's cause, that they routed the Marquis of Huntly in the braes of Glenmoristoun in the year 1647, and killed several of the Marquis his followers, and took certaine of the speciallist of them prisoners; such as the young Lairds of Newtoun, Jorden, Hairtchill, and the Lairds of Ennermarky, and divers others who thereafter were executed in Edinburgh.

2. *Secondly,* As concerning Makintoshe his sufferings for the King's cause, *first,* His lands in Brealochaber were twice burnt, and harryed by the late Marquesse of Argyle in the years 1639 and 1645, and were rendered useless to him for the space of fifteene yeares thereafter; *2dly,* His tennants and lands in Badeanoch were totally harryed and wasted by the name of Fraser in the yeare 1646 for their adhering to Montros; *3dly,* His lands of Glenlug and Locharkag have been violently kept from him from the very begining of the troubles by the Clan Cameron, by means of them then in authority on whom they depended.

Item, Evan Cameron of Lochzield, for his adhering to the Covenanters against the King, was rewarded with the guift of the now Lord Mackdonald's forfaulture, and next was countenanced in the violent possessing of Makintoch his lands and rents in Lochaber as aforesaid.

3. *Thirdly*, As concerning Makintosche his deportment and sufferings in time of the usurpacon, *first*, He refused to take the tender ; *2dly*, He refused to embrace the office of a Justice of Peace under the usurpers ; *3dly*, He refused (being invited upon promise of repossessing him in his estate in Lochaber) to raise in arms against the King's party in anno 1655 ; and, *4thly*, He never had any comerce or communication with the English, and for that cause was constantly crossed by the English in all his lawsuits.

Item, Lochzeild (after he had closed his capitulation with the usurpers) entered into so strict a league and friendship with them, that for his cause they divided Lochaber and the places adjacent, from the Shires of Interness and Pertth, and made the said Lochzield both Sheriffe, Comissarie, Commissioner, and Justice of Peace of these places, who thereby not only enriched himself, but also did the usurpers several good offices, by helping to reduce the Highlanders under their obeidience ; *2dly*, He was assisted in all his lawsuits against Makintosche by the usurpers. So as Makintosche and his whole kin and friends were forced to deliver their arms to the Garrison of Inerness, but Lochzield and the whole name of Clangameron were tolerated to bear arms in any part within the kingdome, except only within the garrisons.

It is confest that Lochzield's friends killed some English at y^re^ first coming to Lochaber to plant a garrison there, but that was not done out of any loyalty, but merely to terrify the English from planting a garrison in that place, to the effect they might have the greater freedom to rob and spoile the country according to the accustomed manner.

No. IV.

PETITION BY SIR JOHN GRANT OF FREUQUHY TO THE SECRET COUNCIL.

A. D. 1622. December 19.

My Lords of Secret Counsell, unto your Lordships humelie menis and shewis, I your servitor, Sir Johnne Grant of Freuquhy, That quhair in the lait commissoun grantit be your Lordships to umquhille Sir Lauchlane M'Intosche of Dunnaughtane, and some otheres noblemen and barones mentionat thairiutill, aganes Allane M'Ceanduye, the specile concurrence that was allowit thaim, was the said Sir Lauchlane his awne kin of the Clanchattane, becaus thay haveing the cheif interesse in that mater, your Lordships wyslie thoght that thay wald be most earnest in the prosequistioun of the service. (Lyke as the said service cheiflie depends upon the concurrence.) And now, as I am informed, the Lord Gordoun, in the prosequistioun of the service committit to him aganes the Earle of Caithnes, is to crave the concurrence of his removable tennants, of whome the

Clauchattane are the principall, (and he intends to begin his service about that same very tyme that I intend to go fordwart aganis Allane,) and if he sal haif the concurrence of his tennentes of the Clauchattane, who dur not sitt his charge yf he be armed with auctoritie aganes thame, the executioun of my commissioun will preve voyd, because the Clanchattane are the specile personis upon whose assistance I rely, seeing the actioun is in a maner thair awne, quhairunto I am onlie accessorie in favour of my young sister sone, thair Cheif; thairfor I beseche your Lordschips that the concurrence of the Clanchattane be specilie reserved out of the Lord Gordoun's commissioun, and that I may haif eikit to my commissioun, the concurrence of the whole inhabitants within the bounds of Moydar, Glengarrie, Morrar, Strathgarrik, Atholl, Rannoch, and Balquhidder,* because these are the boundis most ewest and neir to Lochquhabor, quhair Allane dwellis. And that ane act of Councill be extendit to that effect, and your Lordships' answer.

(On the back of the foregoing petition,)

Apud Edinburgh, decimo nono December 1622, fiat ut petitur.

Geo. Cancell.

No. V.

EPITAPH ON DUNDEE BY DR PITCAIRN.

Ultime Scotorum potuit quo sospite solo
Libertas patriae salva fuisse tuae
Te moriente novos accepit Scotia cives
Accepitque novos te moriente Deos.
Illa tibe superesse negat, tu non potes illi
Ergo Caledoniae nomen inane vale
Tuque Vale Gentis priscae fortissime Ductor
Ultime Scotorum, atque ultime Grame vale.

No. VI.

TWO LETTERS FROM ARGYLE RELATIVE TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST HIGHLANDS IN 1690.

The two following letters, which were found among the papers belonging to the family of Campbell of Kilberry, are connected with the account given of the expedition under Major Fergusson, and the capture of Islcandstalker.

* "And Balquhidder" is deleted, but still legible.

No. I.

For

Angus Campbell of Kilberry, Donald MacNeill of Crear, Duncan Campbell of Coulgaltro.

Loveing Cousine, *Edinburgh, February* 1690.

We have desyred Ardkinlass, our Sheriff-Deputt, a while agoe to call a meitting of the gentlemen of the country for setling some number of men upon the *braies*, for securing themselves against robberies and depredations, and att the same tyme we wrott to them for that effect. Wee hope ye have found the good effect of raising these men, which was ordered to guard the country, and wee desyre ye faill not to concur to see them weill payed of what was promised them then for their service.

Wee have desyred Ardkinlass againe to call a meetting of you all to meitt at Inveraray, at such tyme as he shall appoint, that ye may consider what is proper for you now to do for securing the peace of the country. It will be our advantage and yours how effectuall and speedilye ye look to this. Wee are sensible of the great trouble and expense ye are all at for the security of the country. Wee miss noe occasion to represent this to the Government, and shall endeavour all wee can to get you eased, and to save you from as much expence and trouble as possible. Wee hope to see you all shortly, and in the meantyme wee desyre you over again not to fail to concur heartily for securing the peace of the country; and in soe doeing you will oblidge

Your loveing Cusing,

Argyll.

Inverary, 20th February 1690.

Conform to the within written letter, I desyre ye may be at Inverary the last day of this moneth precisely, to meet with the rest of the gentlemen of the shyre, where ye shall be attended by

Your humble Servant,

Campbell of Ardkinlass.

No. II.

For Angus Campbell of Kilberrie.

Loveing Cousein, *Edinburgh, 4th June* 1690.

Their Majesties' Privy Councill hes [ordered] us to cause raise six hundred men to goe to Dunstaffnage, to [meet] Major Ferguson there. That this may be the better effectuatt, wee ordered Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlass to goe from this to [meet] you at Inverary, upon Thursday, the 12th day of this instant, for appoynting these men to be raised, and for other [things pertaining] to the good of the country, wee entreat you faill [not to come] there at that tyme, and give your advyse, assistance, and [concurrance] in this matter, wee expect that all of you will readily [comply] with the desyre of the Councill, both for the countrey's [good and] ours, and wee hope by your active concurrance in this [to have the] shyre exeemed from their resting public burdens, those [who] will not concurr, they may expect little favor of this nature, [and a dale of] trouble for their dissobedience, that at present they may [avoid.] There is four hundred bolls of victual ordered to be sent . . . . . for maintaining these six hundred men, and what else [they will] need, Major Ferguson will see them provided in. [What] farther wee have to say in this matter, and what directions [are necessary] thereanent, shall be sent by Ardkinlass. We rest

Your loveing Cousin,

Argyll.

I own I have ever found you most readie in what concerned me, I desyre you upon this occasion [to be very] active, and I have ordered you the command of the partie.

*** The following extract from Gordon's History, printed by the Spalding Club, ought to have appeared at p. 343, but the third volume, which contains the passage, was not issued till the whole of the present work, excepting this sheet, had gone to press.

"Therfor this expeditione against thoise Highlanders was prosecuted for advancement of his privatt designe, either by drawing off such as he could, and macking them for his interest. Thes wer cheefly the Clan Cameron in Lochaber, who, albeit for the most pairt Huntly's vassalls or tenents, yet ther had been stryfe betwixt Huntly and them in the former tymes, which had come the length of bloodshedd and murder upon ther part, after that they had been reduced and punished by old Huntly; but their resentment stucke still in ther stomaches, wherein they were right Highlanders, viz., uncertaine friends for many generationes. Argylle knew that thoise feared Huntly, but loved him not;

therefor he wrought upon ther humeurs, and by them first wormd himselfe into thes places. And although it be weall known that thes Clan Cameron, for the generalitye, (whatever may be saide of particular persones of that name, ther civilitye or godlinesse,) are very farr from relishing the covenant, and were so then, yet some of the most profligate murderers amongst them wer by Argylle his meanes tackne under the protectione of the Covenanters. And it is very weall knowne that in the yeares following thes Clan Cameron for the most part joyned themselves openly to Argylle, and persecuted Huntlye ther maister, who, *anno* 1647, fledd to Lochaber for shelter."—(*Vide Gordon's Scots Affairs,* vol. iii. p. 163.)

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